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UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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[PRICE THREEPENCE.]

FIRST ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

THE Anniversary Meeting of this Society took place on Wednesday, June 24th, at Exeter-Hall, his Royal Highness the DUKE OF SUSSEX, in the chair. The doors were opened at ten o'clock, and immediately the whole area of the immense hall, and the galleries surrounding it, were crowded by well-dressed persons, many of whom had been waiting at the doors for some hours. Amongst the numerous and highly distinguished company on the platform we noticed the following:—Her Grace the Duchess of Sutherland; the Countess of Brunswick. Mrs. Fry, and Mrs. Clarkson, the widowed daughter of the venerable Thomas Clarkson, with her son, the only male descendant of the revered originator of anti-slavery effort? M. Guizot, French Ambassador; M. Isambert, judge, Member of the Chamber of Deputies, and honorary secretary of the French Anti-Slavery Society; M. Alcide Laure, Vice-Judge of the Court of Premier Instance; Daniel O'Connell, Esq., M.P.; C. Luter, Esq., M.P.; W. Busfield, Esq., M.P.; Charles Hindley, Esq., M.P.; George Pryme, Esq., M.P.; D. Roche, Esq., M.P.; Lord Charles Fitzroy, M.P.; Andrew White, Esq., M.P.; the Hon. C. Lascelles, M.P.; Sir James Duke, M.P.; Sir Eardly Wilmot, Bart., M.P.; R. A. Slaney, Esq., M.P.; the Hon. C. P. Villiers, M.P.; J. H. Lowther, Esq., M.P.; F. B. Beamish, Esq., M.P.; G. W. Wood, Esq., M.P.; G. Wilbraham, Esq., M.P.; A. Sandford, Esq., M.P.; J. H. Lowther, Esq., the Right Hon. Dr. Lushington, M.P.; Thomas Fowell Buxton, Esq.; Samuel Gurney, Esq.; W. T. Blair, Esq., of Bath; Joseph Sturge, Esq., of Birmingham; and Dr. Bowring.

The distinguished American and Colonial guests were as follows: R. Madden, M.D., from Cuba; Thomas Rolph, M.D., from Canada; J. G. Birney, Esq., of New York; G. Bradburn, Esq., of Massachusetts; Houtie Seth Sprague, of ditto; H. B. Stanton, of New York; Mr. Justice Jeremie, of Ceylon; Mr. W. Wemyss Anderson, of Jamaica; Reverends William Knibb, of ditto; Elon Galusha, of New York; Nathaniel Colver, of Boston, U.S.A.; C. P. Grosvenor, of Massachusetts; Colonel J. P. Miller, of Vermont; Professor Dean, of ditto; Professor Adam; Norton S. Townsend, M.D., of Philadelphia; Wendell Phillips, Esq., of ditto; and a very great number of Dissenting ministers.

Before the commencement of the business of the meeting the Rev. T. Scales, the secretary to the Society, came forward and announced that the venerable and venerated father of the great and noble cause in which they were engaged, Thomas Clarkson, intended to be present for a short time at the meeting—(loud cheering)—but the state of his health was so infirm, that the display of any strong feeling would be too much for him; he had therefore to request that when he made his appearance the utmost stillness might prevail.

Shortly afterwards, his Royal Highness the DUKE OF SUSSEX, came upon the platform. On his first appearance his Royal Highness was mistaken by many of those present for Mr. Clarkson, but when he came forward and was recognised, the shouts of applause with which he was received were absolutely deafening. The Duchess of Sutherland rose to receive his Royal Highness, and her example was followed by all present. His Royal Highness shook hands cordially with her grace, who sat on the right of the chair, and also with M. Guizot, who took his seat amidst the loudest applause and waving of hats and handkerchiefs from all parts of the immense assembly.

SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq., then came forward and said, he proposed that the meeting should accept the great favour which had been offered them by his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, who had kindly consented to take the chair on the present occasion.

M. Guizot, the French Ambassador, rose to second the resolution, and was received with most enthusiastic cheering. He spoke in English as follows:—I have the honour to second this motion—(cheers)—and I congratulate myself as being honoured with it. (Loud cheering.)

His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex then rose and was received with loud cheering which lasted several minutes. When the applause had somewhat subsided his Royal Highness addressed the meeting as follows:—It is with extreme pleasure that I accept the situation you have conferred upon me by placing me in the chair on this important occasion. (Cheers.) At the same time I regret that other duties which call for my presence elsewhere will oblige me to retire before the conclusion of the business of this day. I have duties elsewhere to perform which cannot be executed without my personal attendance, and having fixed this day by public announcement, it will be impossible for me not to appear on that occasion. But when certain gentlemen, most worthy and excellent members of this society, requested my attendance, I readily acceded to their request to come here, in order, first, to prove by my presence, the deep interest I take in what may be called this most religious cause—(Loud cheers)—and to prove by my act and by my deed that I am hand and heart with you on this occasion. (Loud cheers.) It certainly is a most extraordinary circumstance that this numerous congregation of individuals assembled for so righteous a purpose should be nearly coming to the temporary conclusion of their work here by the celebration of the anniversary of this institution. If I understand their object, it is by all peaceable—(Cheers)—religious, and moral means, to carry into effect the total abolition of slavery throughout the world. (Cheers.) I may therefore use an expression which I have frequently adopted in other places as well as here. This

is a catholic cause. It is a cause which combines all nations—all religions—and all colours—and it is right that it should be so; for that all-merciful power which presides over this meeting and this cause, as He does over every religious and good cause, looks down equally on the lowest as on the highest, on the black man as well as on the white—(Loud cheers)—and while interested and speculative men deny this, the Divine power, which blends mercy with justice, regards the black equally with the white man, and has created and endowed him with the same power of mind as any of his fellow-creatures with whom the world is peopled. (Loud cheers.) How is it he has not risen then? Because it is by education only that he can improve his mind, and work those materials which the Almighty has given his creatures for the benefit of mankind, and the salvation of themselves. I say that a meeting like this is a catholic one, and it ought to be carried out with feelings of charity, combined with orderly habits, and submission to the executive powers, on whom the task of carrying out effectively the objects of these meetings must ultimately devolve. Our duty is to enlighten the public mind—to create an interest in that mind on this subject; and having created such an interest in the public mind, it becomes then our duty to guide it, and place it in such a form as will carry weight with those who negotiate between nation and nation. I have no hesitation in saying that the communication of feeling between nation and nation, such as this, is attended with the utmost advantage; but when it comes to a great executive measure, which, by being too hastily or eagerly pursued may affect seriously the interests of different countries, it is the duty of a body like this to appeal to their feelings, and fairly, firmly, and manfully to persevere in persuading them to assist us in fully carrying out our objects. I say this sincerely. I have a strong impression on my mind of the necessity of submitting to the executive the exact manner in which we are to carry out our ulterior objects. Let us look back to history. It is lamentable to see how great and ennobling feelings have been perverted by politicians for the purpose of exciting in different nations a national feeling one against the other. History proves that this has been the case in the greatest, and most ennobling, and sacred of all causes—the cause of religion. I need not advert to the crusades, when, under the pretence of the name of the Almighty, christians set themselves against their fellow-men, and the cause of war was sanctioned by the name of the God of peace. (Cheers.) Let us take care not to fall into the same error, and let us not, while we are working for the benefit of mankind, suffer speculating individuals to turn our righteous cause into one of mischief. (Loud cheers.) Are you prepared, in this great cause, to carry such questions at the risk of war and bloodshed? (Cries of "no, no.") I believe you are not, most certainly. I expected such a response, and I am most happy to hear it; and I hope that gentlemen who come here will make their statements of the cruelties and horrors they have witnessed without attempting to cast a slur upon any nation. (Cheers.) It will thus come to the knowledge of those whose duty is to report the circumstances in the quarter in which they ought to be reported, and those persons will eventually be satisfied—first, as to the morality of the cause; and, secondly, that the destruction of a trade so horrid as the slave-trade must be for their own interest and ultimate benefit. (Hear, hear.) Following with other countries which still employ the labour of the slave, the same principle which we have already carried out, we must labour to prove to them that it is for their interest to make him free, to inspire him with religious and sober habits, and, by improving his mind, to improve the felicity of the society and the welfare of the country in which he resides. By pursuing such a course, you have every reason to expect that the opinion of the world at large will be with you. So truly known is the power of the respectability of this country, which you have with you, that it must give you additional weight and confidence; and, when I see myself surrounded, as I am, not only by the nobility and talents of this country, but that the representative of the king of the French—(cheers)—whose talents are so well known—whose knowledge of the history of this country is so extensive, as has been manifested by a recent publication which must hand down his name to posterity—(Loud cheers)—I feel confident that our operations must thrive, and that we must succeed in a cause so righteous as this. (Immense cheering.)

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE came forward and said that their venerable friend, Thomas Clarkson, was in an adjoining room, and as it was probably the last opportunity he would have of meeting the friends of the cause, he was desirous of saying a few words at the conclusion of the reading of the report. The delicate state of his health had rendered it desirable that he should remain outside until the royal chairman had delivered his address, and he would take that opportunity of informing the royal chairman, that at his first entrance into that meeting, some little mistake had occurred, many of those present having imagined that their venerable friend, Thomas Clarkson, had then entered.

Shortly afterwards Mr. Clarkson, accompanied by his daughter-in-law and grandson, entered the room, and took his seat on the left of the illustrious chairman, who shook him cordially by the hand. The most profound silence was observed, and the venerable gentleman and his orphan grandchild appeared to be objects of the deepest interest and sympathy to all present. Although feeble, we are happy to state that the general appearance of the venerated father of the anti-slavery movement betokened that he was in the enjoyment of as good health as at his advanced period of life commonly falls to the lot of a human being.

Mr. SCOBLE then read the following—

ABSTRACT OF REPORT.

However interesting or desirable it might be to sketch the history of the abolition of the slave-trade and of slavery by the legislature and the people of this country, as preliminary to the proceedings of the day, the committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society feel that it would be trespassing too much on the time and attention of this great meeting to take even the most rapid glance at it, and will therefore content themselves for the present with merely stating, that in the facts connected with that history, as well as in the actual state of the anti-slavery cause at the present moment, they find the most ample justification of the formation, the extension, and the support of the institution to which it is their honour and their happiness to belong. In the brief statement of particulars the committee propose to make, they would call attention, 1st. to the origin of the society;—2nd. to the fundamental principles on which it is based, and the means by which it proposes to accomplish its objects;—3rd. to the labours of the past year;—and 4th. to the questions which press most on their attention at the present time.

1st.—On the 27th February, 1839, in compliance with an invitation issued by their devoted fellow-labourer in the cause of human freedom and happiness, Joseph Sturge—a small body of gentlemen who deeply sympathised with him in the great object he had in view, met at the Guildhall Coffee-house, London, to take into consideration the propriety of forming a society for promoting the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world by moral and religious influence, and such measures only as will not, directly or indirectly, sanction the employment of an armed force for its prevention or suppression. At this meeting a series of resolutions were passed recommending the formation of a society based on those principles, and a provisional committee was appointed to take the necessary steps to secure its accomplishment.

The committee thus appointed having entered upon their duties, they issued a circular embodying the resolutions which had been previously adopted, and sent it to each of the anti-slavery delegates convened in London in 1833, and at subsequent periods, and likewise to each of the two anti-slavery committees then existing in London, and to other friends of the cause throughout the country, inviting their attendance in London on the 17th of April following, for the purpose of considering the propriety of forming the society which had been recommended.

Upwards of 1100 circulars were sent throughout the country; and on the day appointed friends of the anti-slavery cause from various parts of the United Kingdom met at Exeter Hall, and after two days of careful, serious, and deliberate consideration of the whole subject, the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society was formed, and office-bearers appointed to carry out its principles and plans. For details the committee beg to refer to the circular issued on the containing the resolutions and address of the society.

2nd.—Among the resolutions passed at that meeting the committee deem it important to call particular attention to the second and third, which develop the objects which the society proposes to aim at, and the principles which should govern them in prosecuting their great enterprise. They are as follows: "That the objects of the society be the universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade, the protection of the rights and interests of the enfranchised population in the British possessions, and of all persons captured as slaves;" and "that the following be the fundamental principles of the society—that so long as slavery exists there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character and that no measures be resorted to by this society, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles."

3. In pursuance of the duties devolved upon them, the committee have been earnestly and actively engaged during the past year in diffusing the principles of the society, both at home and abroad; in collecting information from various and authentic sources, on all points connected with their immediate duties; in the formation of Auxiliary Associations in different parts of the kingdom, or of securing the co-operation of those which previously existed in Edinburgh and Glasgow, Birmingham and Liverpool, and other important places; in sending deputations to France and Holland, and availing themselves of the willing service of members of their committee, among whom they would particularly mention their treasurer, who not only accompanied the deputations to France and Holland, but has visited Denmark and Sweden in furtherance of the objects of the society; in petitioning parliament on subjects intimately connected with the cause of humanity and freedom; in memorialising the government, and securing interviews with the heads of the Foreign and Colonial departments, on various important subjects connected with the rights and welfare of the emancipated bondsmen in the late slave colonies of this country—on the injuries inflicted on the Hill Coolies, nefariously introduced into the Mauritius and British Guiana, and against their further export from British India—on the degraded condition and sufferings of the liberated Africans in Cuba and the Brazils—on the precarious situation of the fugitive slaves who have sought refuge in Canada from the oppression of their masters—on the duty of protecting the negroes found on board the *Amistad*, and now detained in the prisons of the United States, contrary to every dictate of humanity and international law—on the necessity of refusing to acknowledge the independence of Texas—and various other subjects of kindred interest and importance.

The Committee have also directed their attention to the consideration of such plans as were likely to promote the objects of the society, to the schemes of emigration into the British colonies now so earnestly pressed on the attention of parliament, the government, and the people of this country, by the West India body, and the state of the laws in the British colonies, in so far as they are calculated to abridge the rights of the enfranchised negroes, and to obstruct the successful working of the free system.

The committee would also state, that, in addition to various circulars issued by the committee, they have published and circulated an address to the women of England, and two pamphlets, one an examination of the claims of Texas to be recognized as an independent power, and another on the cruel treatment of Coolies imported into Mauritius and British Guiana. They have also issued every alternate week, and as occasion has required, as the official organ of the society, the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, in the form of a newspaper,

which they trust will obtain an extensive circulation amongst their friends in every part of the empire.

The great anti-slavery convention called by the committee has nearly terminated its important sittings; the results of its deliberations will, in due time, be given to the world. The committee are grateful to the friends of the oppressed who have so nobly responded to their call, and, without pledging the society to the adoption of every measure proposed to the convention, or holding themselves responsible for all its acts, they rejoice in believing that its solemn testimony against slavery, as opposed to the eternal and immutable principles of natural justice, and the spirit and precepts of the christian religion, will be felt throughout every branch of the church, as well as throughout every portion of the civilized world and that immediate emancipation, without restriction and without price, unanimously recognized as the duty of all persons and governments implicated in the support of slavery, will be the watchword of abolitionists throughout the world.

4. Upon British abolitionists the duties which press most heavily at the present moment are the abolition of slavery in British India, the necessity of watching over the legislation and purifying the administration of justice in the colonies, and of resisting the enactment of any schemes of emigration into them the result of which may be injurious to the liberty and happiness of their fellow-men. But their efforts will not be confined within these limits; wherever there is a human being subject to slavery or the victim of the slave-trade, thither should their eyes be turned, their sympathies directed, and their help afforded; and, in conjunction with the abolitionists of other lands, they trust by the steady persevering dissemination of knowledge on the subject, the frequent but well-timed remonstrance, as well with authorities at home as those abroad, the intrepid exposure of slavery in its real character as odious to man and offensive to God, the calm but resolute denunciation of its supporters and the countenance and protection of its victims, to hasten the glorious day when not a slave shall wet the soil which he cultivates with his tears, or crimson it with his blood.

The committee would have felt delighted to have referred particularly to the gigantic efforts made by the abolitionists of the United States of America to purge their institutions from the stain and their people from the guilt of slavery, and to have dwelt on the general advance of the sacred cause of human freedom on the continent of Europe, but their limits forbid. They cannot, however, avoid expressing an earnest hope that France will soon accomplish the great work of abolition in her colonies, and secure to herself the honour of perfecting at once, and for ever, a great work, by giving immediate and entire emancipation of her slaves, and thus set a noble example to other nations of the earth.

In conclusion, it is not for the committee to say what amount of good they may have been enabled to accomplish during the past year. They rejoice to think, however, that they have not laboured in vain. At all events, they have endeavoured to lay the foundation for the future operations of the society both broad and deep; and now, in humble dependence upon Him whose blessing alone can give their best efforts success, and without which, whatever be their character, they must fail, they commend the great cause in which they are engaged to the christian sympathies, the ardent prayers, and the generous support of this great assembly.

Mr. GEORGE W. ALEXANDER read the financial statement of the committee from the 1st April, 1839, to the 31st May, 1840.

The meeting having, with no small difficulty, "hush'd" itself into silence,

Mr. CLARKSON said—May it please your Royal Highness, and ladies and gentlemen, I come to you in very advanced years, and in a feeble state of health—for which you must make an allowance. But it cheers my heart—it does me good—to see such a respectable assemblage of individuals on such an occasion. I congratulate you on having his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex in the chair. To him I have been long attached for his liberal sentiments, but particularly for the readiness which he has shown to come forward on all philanthropic occasions. It gives me great pleasure to think that another illustrious member of the Royal Family has distinguished himself in the same way on another occasion, when I am sorry I was not able to attend. Ladies and gentlemen, I have been greatly gratified during the meetings of the anti-slavery convention, to see so many good men met together from various parts of the world—men selected for their moral worth. To the moral man such a sight is a beautiful picture of itself. But when I consider that those good men met together for the heavenly purpose of breaking the chains of the oppressed, and of generously assisting those whom they have known only by their sufferings, and who, moreover, have no means whatever of assisting themselves, the gratification which I have felt has been turned into admiration and delight. Surely these meetings must have been acceptable to God. Has he not said in the old testament, "I will have mercy and not sacrifice?" That is, I prefer the warm and tender affections of the heart, when they break forth into practical benevolence, to the mere observance of the most important ceremony of the Jewish religion. Has he not said again in the same book, with reference to another religious custom of those times, "The fast that I have chosen is to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free, and to break every yoke?" Is not the New Testament also full of the same delightful sentiments? Such meetings as these, therefore, cannot but be acceptable to God; and as they must be acceptable to him, so I hope we may look upon them as happy omens of our ultimate success. Ladies and gentlemen, permit me to take this opportunity before I return home, for I shall have no other, of thanking those individuals, many, very many of whom are now sitting with you, for the kind attention and respect which they have shewn me during the last fortnight. I must, however, in point of fairness, put down all this kindness, not to myself alone, but to my connexion with the great and good cause in which I have been engaged. It must be borne in mind that I could have done but little in it as an individual. What could I have done without the powerful assistance of my dear and revered friend, Mr. Wilberforce? And what could he and I have done together without the assistance of thousands of others? I take no particular credit to myself for having taken a part in it, more than others who did the same. Each was actuated by his own view of the subject, and the feelings which this view of it occasioned. As to myself, I was literally forced into it. I will relate in a few words how this happened. I was thinking one day, in a more serious and solemn manner than I had ever done before of the multiplied injuries which the unhappy people who are now the objects of your sympathy were made to undergo



in Africa, on their passage, and in the colonies. All the tragical scenes which occurred in these their different situations passed in horrible review before me, and my compassion for their sufferings was at that moment so great, so intense, so overwhelming, as to have overpowered me, and compelled me to form the resolution, which I dared not resist—it was at my peril to resist—of attempting their deliverance. Thus I was forced into the great work. I did, therefore, only what it was my duty to have done, under such circumstances—I had only the merit of obeying the extraordinary impulse on my mind. I have often indulged the belief, that this feeling might have come from God; to him, therefore, and not to such a creature as myself, you are to attribute all the honour, and all the glory.

As the venerable gentleman resumed his seat, the Duke of Sussex shook him cordially by the hand, and a murmur of applause, with difficulty repressed, spread through the meeting.

Mr. J. STURGE came forward, and explained that his venerable friend (Mr. Clarkson) had risen to move the first resolution, but had forgotten to make the motion. He (Mr. Sturge) had also to explain, that as Mr. Clarkson had concluded his address there was no longer any objection to the meeting expressing its feelings as it pleased.

The meeting being thus loosed from restraint, received with a most vehement and enthusiastic burst of cheering and applause.

M. ISAMBERT, who was introduced by Mr. Scoble as a member of the French chamber of deputies, judge of the court of cassation (Paris), and secretary of the anti-slavery society of France. The hon. gentleman, whose address (in French) was translated by Dr. Bowring, spoke at considerable length. He wished they should not receive an erroneous impression from reports in the public newspapers as to what had passed in the commission which had been lately nominated in France, in order to determine what steps should be taken for the abolition of slavery. It was true, that every member of the commission was not an abolitionist, but still he was bound to say that none of its members advocated the slavery principle; and in the various discussions on the subject its injustice had been acknowledged by all. (Hear, hear.) In many of the discussions which had taken place he merely recognised a desire on the part of the members to ascertain the state of public opinion, and he did not anticipate any evils from the labours of the commission. He thought he might announce to them that whatever else might happen—whatever project might be adopted, the system of apprenticeship would be repudiated—(cheers)—and that although the time at which slavery would be abolished might be retarded for ten or twenty years, its complete abolition was in futurity, and that the only question of embarrassment and difficulty would be the question of indemnity. The last project presented to the commission was one which had been submitted by an illustrious friend of his—and he (Dr. B.) might add, of his also—M. Tocqueville, to that body. He was bound to call their attention to the fact, that in the commission were to be found some of the most distinguished advocates of abolition; and its president was the illustrious Duke of Broglie—one of those who went farthest towards effecting a complete emancipation, and who was particularly distinguished by his great and constant exertions in the cause. (Cheers.) He also wished they should know that in France the emancipation question was not a party one. It was to him a source of great consolation to find the subject removed from the region of party dissensions. (Hear, hear.) Men of all opinions had concurred in the necessity of effacing the great national stain of slavery; and on that question M. Berryer, M. Odillon Barrot, M. Lamartine, M. Dufaure, M. Passy, M. Sauzette, M. Delaborde, M. Tocqueville, and M. Beaumont were all agreed, while even those who looked on the question in a merely financial point of view were coming forward with their co-operation and concurrence. (Hear, hear.)

The Rev. T. SCALES wished to make an observation on one point. In the report to which they had listened, a reference was made to the constitution, the principles, and the objects of the society. It was important that those principles should be kept constantly in view. The British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, as its title bore, had been established for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world. His Royal Highness in the chair had asked whether, in seeking those objects, the society would be ready to embroil nations, and to expose them to the evils of warfare? He would answer of course, that they would not; for however monstrous might be the evils which they endeavoured to remove, however wide might be their spread, and however strongly they might be entrenched—though the traders of the earth might unite to uphold them, and though potentates should throw over them their protecting shield—the society would not, and dared not, use any other means for their suppression, than those which were moral and religious—(Cheers)—than those means which they believed to be warranted and sanctioned by the lessons of the Lord Jesus Christ. (Loud cheers.) The society wished not to use carnal weapons, but those spiritual influences which were “mighty through God;” and, under the blessing of God, those enlightened principles which christianity inculcated must eventually succeed. He moved the second resolution.

His ROYAL HIGHNESS then vacated the chair, and left the hall amidst great cheering.

Sir E. WILMOR took the chair, and

Judge BIRNEY of New York, came forward. He was well received, and proceeded to say, that in no other country could such an assembly as that be held, and it was fit that it should be so—this was the land of freedom. His own country, he grieved to say, was debased and degraded by slavery—slavery which deprived the labourer of his hire, and stripped sacred marriage of all its rights. It was thus that they were replied to on the free state of America, when they attempted to discuss the subject of slavery, to induce them to abandon it; they were told that they knew nothing about it. Why, were not the wages taken from the slaves, was not education denied them, was not his soul robbed of the joys of a future state, were not all these known, and did these, he would ask, constitute nothing?—(Cheers.) If these were nothing, what he would ask, was the system of slavery itself, when it was disclosed in all its abhorrence? How was this system to be abolished. Why, by the action of the present convention, representing many other countries as well as their own.—(Cheers.) He would barely allude to the fact that Great Britain had done great things against slavery by the emancipation of the West Indian colonies.—(Cheers.) He had reason to hope that France would soon imitate this noble example; and he trusted from the representations they had made there and elsewhere, that she would not be long behind this country.—(Cheers.) If that was done, could Spain, he would ask, hold out much longer; and if that country gave way, the other slave-

holding states in the West Indies must follow their example.—(Cheers.) It was said that the slave was happy, and therefore it was asked why should such a system be abolished? How could a man be happy, who was, as a slave, deprived of all the rights which his fellow-man enjoyed? Was that a state of things that ought to continue? Could the slave be happy when the slave trader tore his wife and children from him, exposed their beauties to enhance their price, and ultimately disposed of them to the best bidder?—(Cheers.) The worthy gentleman concluded by seconding the resolution.

The venerable Mr. Clarkson here withdrew from the meeting amid much cheering.

Dr. LUSHINGTON then rose to address the meeting, and upon coming forward was most enthusiastically cheered. He congratulated them that they had in the presence of the people of England, not privately or clandestinely, but openly and publicly, heard a judge of the United States, declare his conviction of the iniquity and cruelty of the continuance of slavery. They owed that individual great and sincere thanks, not simply for his energy and resolution in crossing the ocean to attend upon the present occasion, but as an American, dissipating the prejudices that prevailed in that country, having also the courage to declare the truth, and setting an example which he would venture to say, would soon be followed by the people of that country. (Great cheering.) The people of this country, in his opinion, ought to deal most kindly with their American brethren, for this country had left them the legacy of the slave-trade. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) In France, the future prospects were a matter of great rejoicing; for though he well knew the many difficulties which were to be encountered when they came to speak of vested interests in human beings, and though he recollected the outcry with respect to the rights of property, he never could believe that that great and enlightened nation, led on by wise and illustrious statesmen, when the iniquity of slavery was shown to them, would permit it any longer to exist there. (Cheers.) What had happened in other countries on this subject? Why, if his information did not mislead him, the spirit was awakening in Denmark, and the people of that country were becoming aware of the injustice and horror of slavery. (Cheers.) When first his venerable friend, Mr. Clarkson, (here Dr. Lushington was greatly affected) began to advocate the abolition of slavery, and with whom, he was proud to say, he had acted for so many years, it was nothing but a conviction of the truth and justice of the cause—nothing but a humble hope in the final dispensations of an all-wise and merciful providence that could have induced them to persevere against the scorn and contumely of the world. (Cheers.) Others had gone to their long home whose efforts must ever be remembered in meetings like the present; he might mention the name of one who never flagged in the great cause, whom no danger intimidated, or threats prevented from proceeding with his great exertions, and whose whole heart and soul, from the rising of the sun to its setting, was expended in the greatest services to the cause—he meant the late Mr. Macaulay.—(Cheers.) He trusted that all those whom he now addressed, would themselves, and would induce others over whom they had influence, to contribute to the great end of the present meeting, namely the final extinction of slavery and the slave-trade; and as a Christian, he would call upon all present to recollect, that in so doing, they were not acting under the impulse of their feelings, but in obedience to the commands of their God.—(Great cheering.)

The resolution was then put to the meeting, and declared by the chairman to be carried unanimously.

Mr. O'CONNELL was then introduced to the meeting, and received with enthusiastic and protracted cheering. He said, we have to congratulate England, in the face of the world, in having set that mighty and magnificent example of the emancipation of nearly one million of human beings, and having consented, in addition, gratuitously to compensate those who were not entitled to any compensation—(Hear, hear)—entitled to no compensation, but punishment for long and atrocious villany. (Hear, hear.) I voted against that compensation, (hear, hear) but I should not be sorry it was granted if I saw a reciprocal spirit of kindness and benevolence on the part of those who received it. It is, sir, a mighty and magnificent example we have given, and it tells well to the rest of the world in its immediate results; for what were we told when we were struggling for the emancipation of the negroes? Did not the planters assert, the moment they were emancipated, violence, turbulence, slaughter, and massacre would be the consequence? (Hear, hear.) Did they not say—“do you want us to have our throats cut? It is not whether we shall let the negroes loose, but whether they shall outrage our wives and daughters, and slaughter ourselves.” What do they say now? (Hear, hear.) Has there been one single riot? (Hear, hear.) Has there been one single outrage? (Hear, hear.) Has there been one single assault? (Hear, hear.) Has anything approaching to spoliation of property, or to the murder of a single human being, been committed? Humble as I am, I stand here the triumphant advocate of the negro race. (Loud cheers.) The negroes have much to forgive. Even the planters of Jamaica, boasting of their high spirit as English gentlemen, still kept the lash to the female negro's back to the very last moment. (Hear, hear, and shame.) Even the chivalry of their character as gentlemen would not let them relax the power of torture even to that sex whom they said they respected. (Hear, hear.) The negro had much to forgive. He had to forgive the cruelty to his wife—the horrible treatment of his daughter—the torture of his son. He had to forgive the stripes that were still marked on his back by the lash of his tyrant master. Did he take revenge? No; blessed be God, he forgave all. (Tremendous cheering.) I stand here triumphantly, then, with this great experiment completely worked out, that it is perfectly safe to emancipate the negro race. (Cheers.) But have we not something to fear from the planter? (Hear, hear.) I cannot leave Jamaica without announcing to you that in the last session of the legislature of that country abominable slavery laws were passed amid the congratulations of Sir Charles Metcalfe—(Hissses)—who, with a fatal facility, has given in to the views of the planters, and given up that generous protection which my esteemed and admired friend—how proud I am to call him so—Sir Lionel Smith showed. (Loud cheers.) As yet those laws have not received the royal assent in this country, and by the blessing of God, the name of our Queen will never be subscribed to them. (Tremendous cheering.) I know they are in operation in the meantime, that is the worst of it; and therefore no time should be lost in calling on the secretary for the colonies, and

remonstrating with him upon the subject. There is another portion of the British dominions where slavery still spreads its horrid influence. We were told, sir, when the Emancipation bill passed that the government of the East Indies would take measures to abolish slavery there. I believe they have taken none—I know of none—it may be my ignorance; but this I know, that there are hundreds and thousands, and hundreds of thousands of slaves still in our East Indian dominions, and when we proudly boast that the flag of our Queen waves over none but freemen, we are obliged to make a distinction which has no difference, for the flag of the East India company waves over hundreds and thousands of slaves. (Hear, hear.) If we look to other countries, what are our consolations? We have heard an able and eloquent French advocate of universal liberty. But, sir, I was very sorry to hear from him what they were going to do. I was sorry to hear him talk of the French probably postponing for ten or twenty years the emancipation of the negro—it is like what the Latinists call *paulo post futurum*—(Laughter)—the prison counts by the hour, slavery reasons by the minute. (Cheers.) Talk not to me of regulations, and rules, and laws; commit them to the hands of the planters and masters, it is no matter what the law is, the parties will inflict punishment and suffering on the unfortunate negro. I do not wish to discourage them, but I laugh to scorn their efforts, I despise their exertions, if they attempt anything but total and immediate emancipation. (Loud cheers.) But we must cast our eyes further, and what do we there find? Why, countries bound by the faith of treaties observing none of those treaties, for I am reluctantly, but by the force of truth compelled here to declare, that this mighty sacrifice of twenty millions, this great and glorious act of emancipation of 800,000 slaves, has been followed by what? By a most atrocious and enormous augmentation of the worst of crimes attending slavery—the slave-trade. We have treated with the Brazils, with Spain, with Portugal. The treaties are fine pieces of parchment to look at, emblazoned with the arms of monarchs; but in the mines of Brazil, for instance, a great quantity of British capital is employed, and there are British slave-holders surrounding us to the present moment. He then came to the Texas—that nest of banditti. The Mexican government had nobly done away with slavery—it no where existed in that country. All at once a band of land-pirates took their slaves and rifles, and robbed the Mexicans of their land. He blushed to say that the king of the French had acknowledged those robbers as a nation. It was useless to talk of, or to hope for, the abolition of slavery in the French colonies, while the king of France encouraged wholesale robbery, murder, and slavery in the Texas. By the constitution of the country they had debarred themselves from even discussing abolition for a number of years, and even when they had expired, it could not be done unless three-fourths of the people were in favour of it. They might just as well hope to get three-fourths of the people to cut their throats as to agree to annihilate slavery. (Laughter.) Another principle of their constitution was, that they would cut the throats of every Indian in the territory—they would not allow one of the aborigines to remain alive in the land. That meeting and that society must speak out trumpet-tongued, in order to deter the British government from committing so foul a crime as to recognise them as a nation. Let the governments of Europe acknowledge one slave-holding state, and all would be overrun, and slavery would acquire a fearful increase. Oh! God forbid that they should ever be admitted into the scale of nations. He then came to North America, and there, thank God, he found much reason for congratulation. There were now forty representatives of Abolition Societies in London, to aid them in the great struggle for human liberty. (Cheers.) They had heard a learned and able judge describe the horrors of the internal slave-trade of North America. (Cheers.) Did they know who that learned and noble man was? He had been the proprietor of slaves himself, but he had given them all their liberty. (Loud and continued cheers.) He not only did that, but a second batch came into his possession by patrimonial descent. He was again the proprietor of slaves, but he emancipated them. (Cheers.) American abolitionists might indeed be proud with Judge Birney of New York, at their head. Let them be honoured in proportion as the slave-holders are execrated. Oh! they had a hard battle to fight. In place of being honoured as they were in this land, they had to encounter calumny and outrage: the bowie-knife and lynch law threatened them; they were abolitionists at the risk of their lives. (Cheers.) Glory to them! A year or two since he made some observations upon the conduct of the American minister; he charged him with breeding slaves for sale; he denied it; and, in order to prove who was right, he sent him (Mr. O'Connell) a challenge to fight a duel. (Laughter.) He did not accept it. Nothing would ever induce him to commit murder. God had forbidden it, and he would obey him. (Cheers.) The American minister denied the charge, but he admitted that he had slaves, and he admitted that he did afterwards sell some; so let him have the benefit of such a denial. (A laugh.) He added, however, that he did not believe that slaves were bred for sale in Virginia. Now, he would read some few extracts from Judge Jay's book, published in New York, in 1839. He would call Mr. Stevenson's attention to page 88 of that book, and that would prove to him, not only that slave-breeding existed in Virginia, but within twenty-five miles of his own residence. (The hon. gent. read several extracts proving the practice; also several advertisements of lots of slaves wanted for ready-money, for shipment to New Orleans, and one dated in Richmond, the very place of Mr. Stevenson's residence.) He had established against the ambassador that slave-breeding did exist in Virginia—yet all these things took place in a civilised country—a civilised age, advertisements of human flesh for sale, and written in even a more contemptuous manner than if the subject of them were cattle. The traffic in slaves from the north to the southern states was immense. In the latter, they were put to the culture of cotton, a horrible culture, that swept off the whole in seven years—every seven years there was a new generation wanted. This was in a community calling themselves civilised—why they were worse than the savage beasts of the desert—they only mangled when driven to it by hunger; but this horrible practice is carried on by well-fed Americans for paltry pecuniary profit—for that low and base consideration they destroy annually their tens and twenty thousands. These scenes took place in a country, which in all other respects, had a fair claim to be called civilised—in a country which had nobly worked out its own freedom—in a country where the men were brave and the women beautiful. Among the descendants of Englishmen, even amongst such was to be found a horrible population, whose thirst for gold could only be

gratified at the expense of such scenes of human suffering. A population that were insensible to the wrath of God, who were insensible to the cries and screams of mothers and children torn from each other for ever, but there was one thing they would not be insensible to—they dare not they could not be insensible to the contempt of Europe.—(Loud cheers.) While they embraced the American abolitionists as friends and brothers—let none of the slave-owners dealers in human flesh, dare to set a foot upon our free soil.—(Cheering.) Let them call upon the government to protest to America, that they would not receive any slave-holding ambassador.—(Loud cheering.) Let the people of Europe say to slave-owners, "Murderers, you belong not to us—away to the desert, and herd with kindred savages."—(Cheers.)

Mr. W. ALLEN supported the resolution, which was then put and carried with acclamation.

Mr. W. D. CREWDSON then read the following letter:—

"Grafton-street, June 23, 1840.

"Sir,—I am extremely sorry that the state of my health renders my attendance at the meeting of which you have given me notice quite impossible. I need hardly assure you that no one who attends it can feel a deeper interest in its objects, or more heartily desire their successful attainment.

"I beg of you to present my humble duty to his Royal Highness the chairman, and explain the reason why I cannot do myself the honour of attending his Royal Highness upon this occasion.

"I am, Sir, your obedient and humble servant,

(Signed)

BROUGHAM.

"To J. H. Tredgold, Esq., Sec.

Mr. C. L. REMOND, of the United States, a man of colour, then came forward, and said he would offer no other apology for his appearance there than the simple fact, that for the first time in his life he stood upon the soil which a slave had but to tread upon to become free—that for the first time he now breathed the atmosphere that an American slave had but to breathe and his shackles fell. He rose more particularly to corroborate the statements made by the hon. and eloquent gentleman who had lately addressed that large, intelligent, and highly respectable auditory, and he regretted that he had taken occasion to leave the room before he (Mr. Remond) had borne his testimony in favour of the great benefit which his language and sentiments, and influence had had in America. (Great applause.) Perhaps the citizens of London were not aware that the English people had it in their power to emancipate every bondsman in that country, and nothing other than that belief could possibly have induced him to leave a beloved family and cross the water in view of the sacrifices and sufferings which it was necessary to undergo in order to do so.—(Hear, hear, hear.) He thanked God however, that it had been allowed him to stand there and utter his condemnation of that system which was carried on in America of enslaving their fellow men—of that system which they had been given to understand was a system of lust and cruelty and blood—of that system which shut out the coloured man in America from heaven, and drove him headlong to perdition.—(Great cheering.) That system withheld from him the privileges which the American constitution and the declaration of independence guaranteed.—(Cheers.) The very descendants of some of those men who assisted in securing that independence were at the present day driven into the fields; and it was a fact that the knapsacks had been taken off the backs of some of the soldiers, and the musket had been taken from their arms, that the lash had been applied and the hoe had been put into their hands, and they had been driven into the fields as slaves, after all they had suffered and sacrificed to secure that independence.—(Loud and vehement cheering.) He wished to say that it was not only the bondsmen in the United States that were enslaved, there was not upon the soil a free man of colour, as he understood the term.—(Cheers.) The humble individual now before them was not able to trace any of his ancestors in slavery, but if he happened to go into the district of Columbia within sight of the flag under which their independence had been secured, he was liable to be seized, and bound, and thrown into prison. For having committed crime? No. For being an infidel? No. For being a convict? No. Why then was he liable to such outrage and indignity? For no other reason than this, that African blood flowed in his veins. (Loud cries of hear, hear.) If it should be his lot to be imprisoned in the district of Columbia, which had been erected by the taxes which his fathers had paid, and the officers of which had been supported by the same taxes, and after having remained there two or three months, if they were not able to prove that he was a slave, and that he was allowed the poor privilege of going forth free, with perhaps a stripe or two, a kick or two, or perhaps a few cuffs, to whom could he look for redress of the wrongs and grievances he had endured? Their national code of laws recognised no redress for crimes so high and infamous. (Loud cheers.) He wished to ask, if these things were the fruits of civilization and christianity, what sort of a system had been introduced among the heathens and barbarians of different parts of the globe? (Hear.) He hoped, before the meeting left that house, that a declaration would go forth similar to that which had been called for by the hon. and learned gentleman. He entertained not the slightest wish to stand there and traduce his country, but he was anxious to have the truth, and the whole truth made known, and to express his abhorrence of the system which was driving to misery and death thousands every year; for, as had been well remarked, it was a system of legalised murder, and he trusted that the voice of every friend of this country would go forth for the abolition of that most iniquitous system. He would conclude in the words of one of the poets of his own country:—

Go back, haughty southern; thy treasures of gold
Are dim with the blood of the hearts thou hast sold,
The sky of the south may be brighter than ours,
And greener thy landscapes, and fairer thy flowers;
But dearer the blast which round our mountains raves,
Than the sweet summer zephyrs which breathe over slaves.
Full low, at thy bidding, thy negroes may kneel,
With the iron of bondage on spirit and heel;
But know that the Yankee girl sooner would be
In fetters with them, than in freedom with thee.

Mr. Remond concluded amidst loud and general cheering.

The Rev. W. KNIBB, missionary at Jamaica, then rose amid loud cheers, to propose the next two resolutions. He said that it was with feelings of the deepest interest, and at the same time of the deepest sorrow, he had risen to propose to the assembly

the first of these resolutions. He had hoped that ere this, information would have been received and communicated to that assembly, that laws so entirely unjust and iniquitous in their character as those to which it adverted, had been at once rejected by her Majesty's ministers. (Cheers.) Of the laws to which he adverted, and which he would pass over in rapid succession, the first he would mention was the Fisheries Bill, and he mentioned this that they might see how, step by step, the House of Assembly had attempted to obliterate every vestige of liberty. In the time of slavery, the poor and old were permitted to fish in the rivers and on the brink of the sea, but no sooner did the act of emancipation arrive than this liberty of the poor and aged was taken away. (Shame, shame.) The next act was called the Hawkers' and Pedlars' act. During the time of slavery every man was allowed to sell whatever he had manufactured himself without obtaining a license for so doing, but as soon as freedom came, or rather as soon as a succumbing governor was found—(cheers)—the Hawkers' and Pedlars' Act passed through the House of Assembly, rendering it necessary for a man to take out a license before he could sell his own goods—the jars and other small commodities (not provisions,) by the sale of which he could obtain an honest and peaceable livelihood. The amount necessary for obtaining this license for every parish amounted to £5. or £10. of our money—and thus this law, which was known to tell against the free system, most sensibly affected the poor and old inhabitants, to hundreds of whom the Baptist missionaries had given a home—into which the tyrants could not enter—who hated the thought of going to the parish, and determined to struggle to be free. (Hear.) Next was the Pound Law. In the time of slavery there was a law of this kind, which enacted that every person taking up stock upon his grounds might take it to the pound, where it was retained until he was recompensed for the damage it had done; but now, when the negro refused to work for the planters, they turned stock upon his grounds, and he was forbidden to take it to the pound without a written document, to prove that they were there—a sufficient instance of the hardship and iniquity of this law. (Hear, hear.) The next was the Rum Law. A law had been enacted which he deemed would have a most detrimental effect, by which on every estate rum might be sold without a license by a white man, so that though the black man could not sell the useful product of his honest industry, the white man could distil his poison and sell it without a license. (Hear, hear.) There was another law (and they would think it impossible that anything bad could be concealed in that) to prevent cruelty to animals, and what mischief could the anti-slavery man suspect lurked there? Why, by that law it was made a penal offence for any person to attempt to catch a horse or ass with intent to ride it, and for doing so he was subjected to thirty days' imprisonment, or to the penalty of £5. The object of the slave-owner in all these restrictive laws being to bind the peasantry, and prevent their having beasts to go to market, to prevent their purchasing land and cultivating it on their own behalf. (Hear, hear.) But there were others of a more stringent nature still—among those the Petty Debt Act, by which, if an employer owes his slave or servant so much money, yet, if he have not sent in a written account two days before the trial comes on (and it is not necessary to allow more than three days for it to come on) he cannot bring it as a set off, but he must apply for a new trial, and if he does not appear, judgment then goes by default. And added to this, double rents were continually inflicted, and the attorney-general had stated that in his opinion they were lawful; so that a man was charged, his wife and his children charged, and he could prove that when they had charged for the land, they could charge also for the trees upon it. When he had applied to the special justices respecting them, the only answer he could get was, that the law had given them no appeal, and that, if a man's conscience would let him swear the charge was just, they had nothing to do but to award it to him. Another law was that for the recovery of tenements, by which five-sixths of the whole population of Jamaica might be turned out of their houses at a week's notice? And the attorney-general had declared that it did not need a second notice before the ejectment took place. In this law it was enacted "That when a landlord at the time of issuing such warrant as aforesaid has a lawful right to the possession of the premises so held as aforesaid, neither the landlord, nor his agent, nor any person or persons acting under the authority of this act, shall be deemed to be a trespasser by reason of any irregularity or informality in the mode of proceeding for obtaining possession as aforesaid; but the party may bring an action on the case for any damage that he may have sustained by reason of such irregularity or informality." Thus, whatever violence a man might commit in executing a warrant of ejectment, he is not to be deemed a trespasser, but the negro must go through the expense of a court of law to obtain redress, which, however, he might just as well try to get from the advocates of oppression in England as from the juries of the island of Jamaica. (Hear, hear.) The next law to which he would refer was the Vagrant Act, and on this he was sure the assembly would allow him to expatiate a few minutes. (Hear.) They had already seen how the negroes were amerced in damages—how they were, at a week's notice, turned out of their houses, and, whatever violence might be used, were without redress, except by appealing to an expensive court. He would now show them how, having got the negroes out of their houses, and turned them unprovided for upon the world, they came with a vagrant act to catch them, and enacted, "that any person shall be deemed a rogue and vagabond who shall be found wandering abroad, and lying in any out-house, or shed, or any deserted or uninhabited building; and that it shall be lawful for any justice of the peace to commit such offender, on his own view, or by the confession of such offender, or on the evidence of any one or more witnesses, to the house of correction, or to the public streets or highways, there to be kept to hard labour for any time not exceeding sixty days." (Shame, shame.) Bad as were the laws, they were rendered still worse by their ad-

ministration. (Hear.) Whatever laws were made, if the planters were to administer them, gross and palpable injustice would be the result. (Hear, hear.) He was about to return to Jamaica, and to face the plantocracy. (Cheers.) He was not going to oppose them by war or by violence. But there were two millions of acres of waste lands, and the friends of humanity had determined that their purse-strings should be opened for the cultivation of those lands by the negroes. (Applause.) He did not ask them to give their money, but only to lend it—and let the blind-minded proprietors of Jamaica in this country look to the consequences if they adhered to the present system. (Hear, hear.) He would desire to preserve their estates, and to see them flourishing; but if he could not have freedom in valleys, where slavery had been abolished, he would seek it in the hills, which God had left for the people. (Cheers.) He would conclude by declaring that he wanted freedom for the people, and he would not rest until he had obtained it. (Loud and long continued cheering.)

Mr. ANDERSON (who was greeted with renewed and universal applause) said he had great pleasure in supporting, as far as he could, the resolution which he held in his hand. He had spent seven years in Jamaica, and he had had ample opportunities of observing the operation and administration of the laws. (Hear, hear.) He would entreat those who were interested in property in Jamaica, if any such were present, to believe that, if the present laws were persevered in, or if the administration of any laws were to be left to the planters, the consequence must be the destruction of that property. If the stipendiary magistrates were done away with, (and that was an object at present eagerly sought for in Jamaica,) the consequence would be ruinous to the proprietors of estates there. (Hear, hear.)

The CHAIRMAN here rose and expressed his regret at being obliged to retire from the meeting, in consequence of a pressure of other business. He wished, before leaving, to congratulate them on the proceedings of that day.

WILLIAM EVANS, Esq., M. P., was then called to the chair, amidst the cheers of the meeting.

Mr. JAMES STANFIELD, of Belfast, rose to move the next resolution.

Mr. STANTON, a delegate from New York, came forward to second the resolution.

The resolution was then put and unanimously agreed to.

Dr. MADDEN, late of Cuba, moved the next resolution—

The Rev. J. KENNEDY, of Aberdeen, seconded the motion.

The resolution was then put, and unanimously agreed to.

Mr. WAYMOUTH moved, and Mr. Justice JEREMIE seconded the resolution.

The resolution was put, and unanimously agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN said he concurred with them in the vote of thanks to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, and he thanked them for their vote to Sir Eardley Wilmot and himself. He hoped that the meeting of that day would be attended with results which would rejoice them all. His heart was with their cause, and he had given every assistance in his power to the society from its first formation up to the present hour. (Hear, hear.)

The meeting then broke up.

Parliamentary Proceedings.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MONDAY, JUNE 22.

THE HILL COOLIES.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL moved the third reading of the Colonial Passengers' Bill. His lordship dwelt on the beneficial results of the emancipation of the slaves in the high moral conduct of the negroes, and the tranquillity of the colonies. Having alluded to the effects he expected from the expedition to Africa, he proceeded to allude to the difficulties experienced by the colonists in obtaining labour:

"They said, 'Slavery is now abolished—every labourer who works in the colonies is free to make his own contract—the price of labour is regulated by competition. We do not complain of this, but at least let us have the benefit and the advantage of inducing labourers from other countries to come to our assistance, in order that we may see whether free labour can compete successfully with slave labour in the markets of Great Britain.' This was one of the principal objects of the present bill."

LORD HOWICK hoped that the act of the legislature of Jamaica, on which so much had been said of late, would not receive the assent of the crown.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL did not think all the provisions of the act free from objection; but he conceived it to be most desirable to give some scope to free labour in our own colonies.

LORD HOWICK expressed his full concurrence in that opinion; but he considered indentured labour as slave labour.

SIR ROBERT PEEL hoped the noble lord (Lord John Russell) would consider well before he fell in with the argument of the noble member for Northumberland. The right honourable baronet dwelt on the mischief which must result from discussing in that house the propriety of the government refusing assent to acts of colonial legislation.

"The responsibility of deciding on the propriety or impropriety of recommending acts passed by the provincial legislatures of the colonies to the approbation of the crown, would be shifted from the government to the House of Commons [hear, hear.] He (Sir Robert Peel) hoped, therefore, that the noble lord, before he produced this act, would make up his mind as to the advice he intended to offer to the crown with respect to it [hear.]

The bill was read a third time.

On the motion that it do pass, Dr. LUSHINGTON moved that the clause relative to the emigration of the Hill Coolies be omitted. He admitted the benefit of emigration from countries with an overwhelming population to others like Guiana that had an abundance of land. He, however, deprecated the attempt to remedy the de-

crease of the production of sugar in Jamaica, and some of the other West India colonies, by the introduction of Hill Coolies. He would prefer taking the supply of sugar from the United States. He contended that the captured slaves should not be left in a state of slavery in Cuba or elsewhere, but carried to the British dominions, and treated as British subjects. The right honourable and learned gentleman adverted to the results of the attempts to introduce Hill Coolies into the Mauritius, and he said he saw no reason to think that the exportation of these people would not be attended with a repetition of the disgraceful scenes that had already taken place.

"Were it not," he said, "for the middle passage from Hindostan to Guiana, he believed that it would be better to transfer the Coolies to British Guiana than to Mauritius. The climate and the people were better suited to their nature, and the mortality was much less in the West India islands; but before consenting even to this, he must see some measures securing laws for the protection of those who were unable to protect themselves [hear.]"

He concluded with moving the omission of all the clauses.

Sir ALEXANDER GRANT hoped that the honourable member would introduce a more specific amendment.

The SPEAKER having stated in what manner the amendment could receive effect.

The honourable Mr. ELLIOTT bore testimony to the fact that the Hill Coolies were not backward in appealing to the tribunals of the Mauritius. He had been in the Mauritius, and contrasted the situation of the labourer in the East Indies and that colony.

"He had been employed to inquire into the condition of the labourers in the east, and he found that in Bengal, the remuneration of the labourer was from two to two and a half rupees per month. Would they, then, in such circumstances, prevent a man like this from emigrating to a place where he would be much better paid? But this difference in his wages would not be the only advantage. His country was subject to inundations, and the inhabitants to famine. In 1806 he was at Madras, when the dreadful famine existed. He had seen mothers tottering feebly along, scarcely able to carry their infants, and men dying by the road side by thousands, on their way to the coast to obtain some relief from the rice which the government had shipped. Would they, then, prevent men subject to the chance of such misery from emigrating?"

He said he was not a West India proprietor, and looked only to the happiness of the people for whom they were about to legislate. He was surprised that a petition should have been presented from the Court of Directors of the East India Company against the emigration of Hill Coolies.

Mr. HOGG hoped the noble lord would not press these clauses, but give time for inquiry. If he should persevere, and the bill should pass that house, then it would be the duty of the East India Company to oppose each and every measure by petition and request, to impede the progress of these clauses as they now stood.

Mr. GRANTLEY BERKELEY contended that the proprietors of West India property were in a most distressed state for want of labourers.

Mr. IRVING thought the West India colonies could only be saved by a system of general emigration.

Lord HOWICK supported the amendment.

Mr. LABOUCHERE defended the clauses.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM, though favourable to a free circulation of labour, was opposed to the clauses as they stood.

Mr. O'CONNELL recommended postponement till they had more perfect information on the subject.

Mr. V. SMITH pointed out the mischief that would result from this.

Sir A. GRANT defended the conduct of Sir Charles Metcalfe.

On a division, the amendment was carried by a majority of 158 to 109, after which the bill was passed.

THURSDAY, JUNE 25.

THE SUGAR DUTIES.

On Lord JOHN RUSSELL moving the order of the day for the house resolving itself into committee on the Sugar Duties Bill, Mr. EWART presented numerous petitions praying for a reduction of the sugar duties.

The House having gone into committee,

Mr. EWART moved, as an amendment to the first clause, the reduction of the duties on sugar and coffee. He said the situation of the poor and labouring classes ought to be the first consideration with the members of that house. The foreign artisan paid 4½d. a pound for his sugar, while the English workman for the same article paid twice that sum. So scarce had sugar become in the households of the poor, that most of them were driven to the use of treacle. The grocers who were in the habit of selling to the poorer classes had begun to cease to sell.

"The house," said the honourable member, "was probably not aware of the great deficiency in the import of sugar for the last few years. In 1832 the import of sugar was, in round numbers, 220,000 tons, while, at the close of last year, after an interval of seven years, with all the increase of the population, the import had fallen to 193,000 tons. That decrease was not temporary, but had been gradual and steady. The returns laid upon the table of that house showed that the import of West India sugar had decreased 40,000 tons on an average of ten years from 1830 to 1839. In the present year the diminution appeared to be in a larger proportion. He believed that he was justified in saying that already the import into London was less than at this time last year, by the extraordinary amount of 12,000 tons. It might be supposed that they had a stock in hand to meet the deficiencies. So far from that, the amount was extremely low. The weekly delivery of West India sugar in May last amounted to about 1540 tons. Now what had they to meet that? The stock at that time amounted to no more than 3870 tons—a stock only sufficient for a few weeks. Extending their view from the West Indian to the entire weekly delivery of West India,

Mauritius, and Bengal sugars, it amounted to 2180 tons, and to meet that, the stock was only 8300 tons, so that all the sugar available would only last them a single month."

The price of British sugar in bond was 22s. per cwt., and it therefore appeared that the British paid 123 per cent. more for colonial sugar than might be paid for the foreign sugar. The honourable gentleman, in order to trace the connection between price and consumption, went into a history of the duties on that commodity. Suppose the duty reduced from 63s. to 34s., and the population increased at the ordinary rate, the increased consumption would be 30,000 tons, which would give an increase of £1,000,000 to the Exchequer. He concluded by moving that the duties on foreign sugar be reduced from 63s. to 34s. per cwt.

Mr. THORNTON seconded the motion, and observed that in the case of the Corn-laws they had at least the advantage of the sliding scale, whilst, however inadequate the supply of sugar from the colonies might be, the same advantage was not extended to that produce.

Mr. LABOUCHERE was not at all disposed to deny that there was at present existing a state of things with regard to the sugar trade which could not be looked to without apprehension. Our colonies till lately not only supplied the markets of this country, but produced a large surplus for exportation; but they had fallen off to such a degree as to render them incapable of supplying the wants of the British merchant. The consequence was, that the distress in the sugar trade was great, and the injury inflicted on the consumer very considerable. The right honourable gentleman proceeded to show that the question was not merely of a financial nature, for in that case there would be no difficulty. He instanced the treaties with Brazil and various sugar-producing states of South America, and with respect to free labour competing with slave-labour—

"Ultimately," said the right honourable gentleman, "that might be the case. He (Mr. LABOUCHERE) hoped it might; but considering that they were now legislating only for a single year, he thought no man could say that the effect of his honourable friend's resolution, if carried, would be to let in any great quantity of foreign sugar from those distant countries where the labour was free. No one, he thought, could entertain a doubt that within the limited period to which this measure would extend, the great mass of the foreign sugar imported into this country would be from the Brazils—a country which was comparatively near to us, and with which we carried on a large and valuable trade. In the Brazils no sugar was produced except by slave labour. He confessed that it would be a very painful duty to oppose this motion; but the question he had to ask himself was this, whether he would this year consent to give such a stimulus to slave labour in the Brazils, and other countries where slaves were employed, as would be produced by throwing open the market of this country to the reception of their sugar. He owned he was not able to make up his mind that that was a course that he ought to recommend to the house."

The right honourable gentlemen proceeded to analyse the accounts respecting the supplies of sugar. The diminution was confined to the West Indies, for the quantity imported from the East Indies and the Mauritius had considerably increased.

Mr. HUME entirely concurred in the motion of his honourable friend.

Mr. HAWES would support the motion, though he had voted against the Colonial Passengers' Bill, because he thought they needed more information on that subject. The interests of the consumer were entirely neglected in that house.

"The price of sugar abroad was from 20s. to 22s., while in this country it was 48s. per cwt. Why, then, were the people taxed to that amount? The only reason was that the government sought to confine the growing of sugar to our own colonies, but he contended that that was adverse to the interests of the people of this country."

Dr. LUSHINGTON observed that the honourable member for Lambeth had thought fit to assume an opinion for the consumers, and that it was in favour of the present proposition, but he doubted this.

"He was satisfied that the public feeling which had brought about the abolition of slavery would not fail them now. He saw no reason to fear for the future increase of the sugar crops. Looking to the various occupations which of necessity opened themselves up to the negro when his slavery was at an end—looking also to the necessity of his securing some produce for himself—they could not expect, when the shackles were just struck from his limbs, that he would persevere in the same amount of toil as he was compelled to do in his state of slavery. He would show that the reduction had arisen from different causes, wherever sugar was grown—causes beyond the power of man to control. That difference was 961,128 cwt.; but it had arisen from no deficiency of labour. To use the words of Governor Light, 'under the most coercive system of labour that difference must have existed.'"

He proceeded to show that the falling off in the sugar last year was owing to accidental causes. He concluded with declaring that—

"He was himself in favour of the principle of reduction of duties, but never at the sacrifice of another principle dearer to the hearts of men than any that could be conceived (cheers.) He remembered, when the slave trade was proposed to be given up, and when it was argued by the opponents of that measure that the trade was a nursery for British seamen, and that it produced millions of pounds of capital to this country, and tended to augment its national resources, the father of the noble lord opposite used this expression—'I dare not weigh gold against blood.'—(Cheers.) Such was the expression used by the Earl of Harrowby on that occasion. (Cheers.) He entreated the government to persevere in their present line of conduct until a departure from it should become absolutely necessary. And certain he was, from his long experience of their feelings on this point, if a fair appeal were made to the people of this country, that the great majority of them would deprecate nothing on earth so much as the adoption of a measure which was certain to tend to the perpetuation of slavery, and sure to aggravate the misery of the slave. (Cheers.)"

Mr. A. CHAPMAN did not believe that any measure which involved the breach of treaties and the perpetuation of slavery could be advantageous to the shipping interest.

Mr. O'CONNELL never gave a vote with a greater conviction of its propriety than the vote he should give against the motion of the honourable member for Wigan.

No! The people of England had already made their choice. He would warrant that there was no man who would call a public meeting to petition upon this subject. (Cheers.) Let them appeal to the public, and tell them how many farthings they would save in the pound of sugar grown by slaves beyond what they would pay for sugar grown by free labour, and then let the public take their choice. This great experiment ought to be properly carried out. It was the duty of the government, day and night, to make the experiment complete; and the planters on their side ought to aid the government.

Mr. C. P. VILLIERS supported the motion of his honourable friend, and asked if there never was to be any sympathy with the people of England.

Mr. W. GLADSTONE, in an able and eloquent speech, exposed the inconsistencies of the honourable members for Wigan and Wolverhampton.

Mr. EWART replied.

On a division, the motion was lost by 122 to 27.

Colonial and Foreign Intelligence.

UNITED STATES.

WHITES AND BLACKS.—From the *Pittsburgh Christian Witness* of the 9th of April we copy the following act of the General Assembly of the State of Indiana.

An Act to prohibit the Amalgamation of Whites and Blacks.

Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, that hereafter no negro man, mulatto, or any man having one-eighth part of negro blood, shall be permitted to marry any white woman of this State, nor shall any white man be permitted to marry any black woman, mulatto, or any woman having one-eighth part of negro blood.

Sec. 2. No Clerk of this State shall issue any marriage license to any such persons named in the first section of this act, under pain of a fine of not less than five hundred dollars, nor more than five thousand, for each offence, to be recorded by presentment in indictment in the proper Circuit Court, and said offence shall work a forfeiture of his office.

Sec. 3. All such marriages as are prohibited by this act shall be null and void.

Sec. 4. Each and every person who shall aid, consult, abet, or in any manner be known to assist in any such marriage as is by this act prohibited, shall be subject to a fine of not less than one hundred, nor more than one thousand dollars, to be recovered as aforesaid.

Sec. 5. Each and every person who shall marry in contravention of the provisions of this act shall be subject to a fine of not less than one thousand, nor more than five thousand dollars, and be confined in the State prison for not less than ten nor more than twenty years.

Sec. 6. Any officer of this State or minister of the gospel who shall celebrate the banns of matrimony in cases prohibited by this act, shall be subject to a fine (if a minister) of not less than one thousand, nor more than ten thousand dollars, to be recovered as aforesaid; and if an officer, he shall be subject to a fine of not less than five hundred nor more than five thousand dollars, to be recovered as aforesaid, and such offence shall work forfeiture of his office.

Sec. 7. This act shall be in force from and after its publication in the *Indiana Journal and Democrat*, and it is hereby respectfully requested that each and every newspaper in this State publish this act free of charge, that the world may know our law upon this subject.

JAMES G. READ, *Speaker of the House of Reps.*

DAVID HILLIS, *President of the Senate.*

Approved Feb. 24th, 1840.

DAVID WALLACE.

INDIANA, to wit.

I, William J. Brown, Secretary of State for the State aforesaid, do certify that the foregoing is a true copy of the original bill now on file in my office.

In testimony whereof, I have hereto set my hand and affixed the seal of State at Indianapolis, this twentieth day of February, 1840.

W. J. BROWN.

NEW ANTI-SLAVERY ORGANIZATION.—The last papers inform us that the American Anti-slavery Society has suffered a division. Dissatisfied with some of its proceedings, several of its most distinguished members have seceded from its ranks and organized themselves anew, under the designation of the American and Foreign Anti-slavery Society. Among its officers we observe the names of Arthur and Lewis Tappan, James G. Birney, Henry B. Stanton, and other eminent men. They have originated, as the organ of the society, a periodical entitled the *American and Foreign Anti-slavery Reporter*, in size and appearance the very copy of ourselves. We hope in our next to be able to give the address of the Society contained in the first number of the *Reporter*.

THE SLAVERY QUESTION AMONG THE PRESBYTERIANS.—The *Scottish Guardian* contains an account of the proceedings of the assembly of New School Presbyterians, which met in Philadelphia, on the 21st of May. We extract the following:—

Overture No. 2, on the subject of slavery was called up, and Rev. Mr. Leach, of Virginia, gave notice that he should move the following as a substitute for the preamble and resolution reported by the committee, viz. —

"Whereas slavery, as it exists in the United States, is a subject over which the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church has no control or power to legislate, and which was, after a thorough discussion by the last assembly, referred to, and declared to belong to the inferior judicatories of the church whose local and relative business it is to inspect the moral and religious character and conduct of their own members; therefore Resolved, That henceforth, all memorials and petitions on the subject be considered as inappropriate to the functions and relations of the general assembly."

The following resolution was then moved and adopted:—

"Resolved, That the further consideration of this subject be postponed until Tuesday morning next."

This motion was reconsidered, and Dr. Cox opposed fixing a time for the discussion of the subject. It would create unnecessary excitement, and call together a multitude to hear the debate.

Rev. Mr. LEACH, of Virginia, said, that in offering the substitute which he had proposed, he had no design to go into the discussion of the subject of slavery. In his own state and in his own synod, he had freely expressed his views on the subject; but this was not the body to legislate. Let those who believed that the general assembly was a legislative body, go and cast in their lot with those who hold that doctrine. But he held, and so did his brethren at the south, that this was a subject over which this body had no control, and there was no alternative left but for the assembly to put an end to the discussion of the subject of slavery here. It was the only way by which the south can be prevented from a separate organization. They are about to take this step, and he wished the assembly would act immediately on the matter and dispose of it, that he might write to his friends from Virginia to Florida, that they need not hesitate to send commissioners to the assembly, as this subject was now put at rest. He entreated his brethren, as they valued the union of the church, to desist from distracting it with this subject. The abolition movements had put back the cause of religion at the south twenty years.

Mr. Leach was reminded that he was wandering from the question, which was simply on postponement, and he desisted. The motion was then put on postponement, and lost.

This subject was discussed for several successive days. The following extracts will show the tone of the debate:—

Mr. LEACH of Virginia resumed. He said that the assembly had just decided, in the case of the complaint against the Synod of Genesee, that a man had no right to circulate reports injurious to the character of his brother without bringing the charges against him in a regular way, that he might prove his innocence. Such reports the assembly had just decided are slanderous. And it was slander to charge Christians at the south with being such grievous sinners, without arraigning and trying them according to the constitution. Brethren ought to bear this in mind, when, in their memorials, and speeches, and prayers, they charge the south with flagrant sin. Some of the memorials that have been read ask that slave-holders may be excluded from the communion of the church. But have those who make this request reflected that they are proposing a new test—a new basis. By the introduction of new tests unknown to the constitution, our once wide-spread church has been reduced to a small fragment: and will this assembly go on and reduce it still lower, and lop off other branches. The south asks that you will cease to come here to agitate this subject. What is the use of coming here every year to tell the church and the world that the south are great sinners? We have our bibles and our confessions of faith, and know what is right as well as you. You only irritate and exasperate, without doing anything for the remedy of the evil. There was a remedy in progress, and had we not been interfered with, we should have been twenty years in advance of our present position. Mr. Leach extended his remarks, and assured the assembly if they continued from year to year to agitate this subject here, Mason and Dixon's line must divide the church. The very least that would satisfy the south, would be an assurance that when they came here, they would not be assailed on this subject.

Mr. WELLS, of the Presbytery of Oneida, entered into a long and warm discussion of the abstract question of slavery, and the duty of immediate emancipation; and in the course of his speech referred to the remarks of Mr. Leach, that the south would not send delegates to the assembly, unless this subject was let alone. Mr. Wells said he had no wish to make any threats, but he knew the north and the west, and if this assembly did not take ground on this subject, and speak out against the sin of slave-holding, he knew Presbyteries that would not be represented here again. His mind, he said, had come to the deliberate conclusion that this was to be the test question in the church and in the nation, and that men must take their places as anti or pro-slavery. Mr. Wells went on to say, that the Presbyterian church was the stronghold of slavery, and charged those in the assembly who were disposed to give this subject the go-by as fearing man more than God. The Moderator here called Mr. Wells peremptorily to order as reflecting on the motives of members. After a few remarks, at the request of several of his friends, Mr. W. sat down.

Mr. PARKER of New York—The question is asked, is slavery a sin? It is a foolish question; just as foolish as it would be for a man on the confines of Prussia to inquire, is despotism a sin? There would be no use in agitating the question there, if liberty to preach the gospel were not allowed. Slavery in all its horrors existed in the Roman empire in the time of the apostles. A man would kill slaves to feed the fishes in his pond, but the apostles did not agitate the question. We may as well ask, is not abolition a sin. He heard a lecture on chemistry a short time since. The meaning of the word antimony was given. It was discovered that this substance was good to fatten hogs, and it was proposed to give it to the monks, who were a poor lean set of men; and when the monks took it for that purpose it killed them, and they called it *anti-moen*, i. e., against a monk. Thus the word antimony was introduced, which means nothing like the thing. It is so with the word abolition. It don't mean opposition to slavery, it means opposition to ministers of the gospel. Mr. Parker then introduced extracts from anti-slavery publications denouncing ministers of the gospel; seeking to unsettle them, and spreading divisions in the church, and asked if this was not sin. This was as much the spirit of anti-slavery as to hold up a whip, and say that this is for our poor brothers and sisters at the south. What has abolition, the real Abby Kellyism of anti-slavery, done for the cause? It has made our young men impudent; it has set up our once humble coloured members to teach their ministers. It has made systematic attempts to injure men's characters, and in

accomplishing this work has been as cruel and wicked as the spirit of those who sell their brethren. Mr. Parker said that, rather than take the ground which these abolition memorials proposed, he would prefer that the assembly should warn all the churches under its care to have nothing to do with these anti-slavery societies. He knew that some would go away and say that he was the apologist for slavery, but they would not say that he was the apologist of anti-slavery societies, and he did not mean they should.

Dr. Hill, of Virginia, said that he did not like the terms anti-slavery or pro-slavery. Though born in a land of slavery, it was an abomination to his feelings; it was a grief to him when he was a boy, and it was a grief to his heart this moment. He was left an orphan when five years old, with a patrimony of a few slaves and a little land. He never increased the number of his slaves, and outlived them all. When he married the wife of his youth, with whom he still lived, her father knew his feelings on the subject, and wishing to give his daughter some servants, they were secured to her, so that he had no control over them; but his wife holds a woman and her four children as slaves. Again and again, said Dr. Hill, we have offered them their liberty and means to settle in Africa, but they have refused to leave us, and prefer to remain where they are. Thus we are slave-holders, and it seems we must be cast out of the church, and are called abominable sinners in the sight of God. Dr. Hill then went into the Bible argument on the subject of slavery, and read various passages, and expounded them as not condemning slavery as in itself sin. He said that the manner of the abolitionists in trying to make an impression on the hearts of slave-holders, raised a protuberance instead of making an impression—it was like taking a man by the button of his coat and slapping him on the side of the head to make him attend. He entreated the brethren to pause in their career, and not drive off the south from the church by their course.

WEST INDIES.

JAMAICA.—The *Baptist Herald* furnishes the following correspondence:—

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR CHARLES THEOPHILUS METCALFE, GOVERNOR OF JAMAICA, &c. &c. &c.

Sir,—We have read with feelings of astonishment and regret a despatch from yourself to her Majesty's secretary of state for the colonial department, dated 16th October, 1839.

You have, in that despatch, made some charges calculated to injure our character as christian ministers in the estimation of her Majesty's government and of the British public, charges which we feel fully capable of refuting to the satisfaction of all unbiassed and honest men. The charges to which we refer are contained in paragraphs 13 and 14. [Here the clauses are cited at length.]

Now, sir, reserving for the present our opinion of the despatch generally, and of the degree of credit to which your opinion of affairs in this colony, given after twenty days' residence in it, is entitled, we beg leave respectfully and urgently to request you to supply us with the specific facts upon which you denounce the Baptist missionaries as a "political party," and as "evinced a partisanship" to which their having "greater influence than any other sect in the island" is to be attributed.

Awaiting your reply, we have only to add that we fear no scrutiny, that we are willing and desirous to have our conduct inquired into before an impartial tribunal; and we fully expect that, in justice to ourselves, our congregations, and the society whose agents we are, you will be prepared either to substantiate or retract the charges which, without knowing us, or waiting to judge for yourself, you thought proper to prefer against us.

We have the honour to be, sir, your most obedient and humble servants,

T. BURCHELL, Montego Bay.
WALTER DENLY, Salter's Hill.
B. B. DEXTER, Stewart Town.
JOHN HUTCHINS, Sav-la-Mar.

JOHN CLARK, Brown's Town.
DAVID DAY, Port Maria.
E. J. FRANCIES, Lucea.
T. E. WARD, Falmouth.

Baptist ministers connected with the Baptist Western Union.

By THOMAS F. ABBOTT,

Secretary to the Baptist Western Union."

St. Ann's Bay, April 13th, 1840.

THE GOVERNOR'S REPLY.

King's House, April 20th, 1840.

Sir—A letter dated the 13th instant, but received on Saturday the 18th, bearing your signature, with eight other names subscribed, seemingly in the same hand-writing, has been received and laid before the governor.

His Excellency directs me to inform you that the tone assumed in that letter would alone preclude a reply; but further, that even if the tone and contents were unexceptionable, he could never with due consideration to the office entrusted to him, render it amenable to individuals for any communications designed to elucidate the state of affairs in this island, which he might at any time, in the discharge of his public duty, submit to her Majesty's ministers.

His Excellency has deemed it right in courtesy, that you and the gentlemen concerned with you in the letter adverted to, should be apprised of the reasons which prevent your receiving any other reply than the acknowledgment which I am now instructed to convey.

I have the honour, to be, sir, your obedient servant,

J. M. HIGGINSON, Sec.

The Rev. T. F. Abbott, St. Ann's Bay.

The missionaries connected with the Baptist Western Union felt it to be a duty which they owed to their friends and supporters to call upon his Excellency, Sir Charles Metcalfe, for a statement of the facts upon which the accusations against them in his despatch of October 16th 1839, were grounded.

They certainly had no reason to suppose that their request could be complied with, feeling confident that no such facts could be adduced; and those who judge between the accuser and the accused according to the strict rules of equity will, we think, decide that it would have been quite as manly and christian-like had his Excellency shown that the reproach which he had heard uttered, and which he circulated against the Baptists,

had its foundation in truth, instead of taking shelter beneath the privilege of office.

The course he has adopted is, without doubt, the one most likely to raise him higher in the estimation of those who have been accustomed to oppress the poor, and to utter reproach against the Baptists, but it is questionable whether this will compensate him for the loss of the respect and confidence of the bulk of the population.

Conscious of the rectitude of their conduct, the Baptist missionaries intend to take little further notice of his Excellency's unsupported accusations against them. He has deliberately defamed a body of men because he heard reproach uttered against them, but they forgive him for this wrong. They neither fear his censure, nor desire his praise; and he may be assured that, while they will yield to none in subjection "to the powers that be" in loyalty, or obedience to the laws, they hope ever to be found the steady, unflinching advocates of civil and religious liberty, and to feel themselves honoured by whatever censures they may incur through their determined opposition to injustice and oppression. Happy, indeed, would they be to hail the day when party spirit should be unknown, and when mutual confidence and good will, the surest safeguards of the liberties of the people, and the basis of true prosperity, should be cherished by all classes of the community. They deeply regret that his Excellency should have retarded its reproach, and rendered it extremely improbable that a consummation so devoutly to be wished will be rejoiced over during his administration.

BARBADOS.—EMIGRATION seems to be becoming here a very serious matter, and the planters are beginning to reckon it "no joke."

The *Liberal* of the 25th of April, after mentioning the embarkation of a party the day before, adds, "the number embarked each day we believe to be very large." Notwithstanding all the studied obstructions to their removal, "the labourers are going, and seem determined to go for all that has been said or done as yet to prevent them." The editor justly says, that "the proprietary body have committed a grand *faux pas*" in the ill-treatment of the labourers, and they are getting in return just what they deserve. They seem, however, to be rendered frantic rather than wise. Under the late audacious law, they have prosecuted Mr. Day, of British Guiana, for acting as an emigration agent; and Mr. Justice Applewhaite has inflicted on him the extreme penalty, a fine of £50. In passing sentence, this sapient judge with great naivete adds the following remark:—"The reason why I have put the law into full execution, by imposing the sum of £50. is because I have been greatly annoyed by persons coming to my office to sign certificates. I have intimated the same officially to his Excellency the governor, and trust the fine imposed will put a check to the emigration system, which is increasing more and more." The court of appeal has reduced the fine to £25., but Mr. Day intends to carry the matter before a still higher tribunal.

On the 10th of April, a public meeting was held "to consider the steps to be taken on the new act to prevent emigration." The meeting, of which Mr. Prescod was chairman, is represented as "decidedly the most numerous and respectable political meeting ever seen in the island." "A rather inconsiderate proposition to petition the local legislature on the subject," we are told, was rejected with "a burst of indignant feeling." The measure resolved on was a petition to the Queen.

DOMINICA.—The *Dominican* of the 29th of April informs us, that lieutenant governor Macphail had suspended from the council Mr. Blanc, the senior resident member, and had accepted the resignation of Mr. F. H. Garraway, another member of that body. It will be in the recollection of our readers, that these gentlemen had distinguished themselves by a virulent opposition to the measures recommended by the government. Their places are filled up by the nomination of W. T. Rainy, and James Garraway, Esqrs.

The same paper furnishes the following gratifying account of the state of things in this island:—

"The near approach of the second anniversary of entire FREEDOM forcibly induces the anxiety of all concerned in that glorious event as to the results of the period that has followed the 1st of August, 1838, not merely with respect to the cultivation of the late slave owner's secret and source of all happiness—his *sine qua non*, which to him gives the very spice and essence to life—the sugar cane, but also as regards the good order, general industry, and morality of the liberated population. There exist, we are happy to state, satisfactory grounds for believing that not only have all the gloomy forebodings of ruin and devastation and woe, so confidently predicted by the Anti-abolitionists, been falsified by the events that have happened, and things thereby become no worse; but that in almost every point of view they have been rendered better, and the interests of industry, good order, and morality, placed on a more secure and permanent basis, and exemplified to greater advantage. Aided by the information of persons upon whose accuracy we can rely with perfect security, we find that it has turned out that the sugar raised and exported in 1839, is about the same as that of the years immediately preceding. The crop of 1840 it is estimated, will be on some estates less than last year's, whilst some places expect no variation and others an increase. The present cultivation, notwithstanding, as well as the very general willingness of the labourers to engage in work by contract, or task-work, has invested every party with the most cheering prospects as regards the crop of 1841, which is expected to exceed considerably that of this year. Never was any expectation on this head more general, we understand, or expressed with more confidence. Indeed we see no reason to doubt in a progressive increase of our agricultural prosperity. The good order and subordination of the labourers, are attested by the quarterly trials of crime carried on in this town, which, notwithstanding the absence of any summary jurisdiction amongst the magistrates, are proverbially few and trifling, almost to ridicule. Taking into consideration the little public or private encouragement afforded by those connected with the government, or with properties in this island, the morality of the labourers, though yet lamentably deficient, deserves a far greater share of praise than might at first appear their due. Every one must allow that general freedom has done much for this branch of our subject."

BRITISH GUIANA. Mr. Carbery is pursuing his work as immigration agent in the United States with much diligence and effect. The following extract of one of his letters, which we take from a late number of the *Guiana Chronicle*, will exhibit one of the grounds on which he is encouraged:—"I am glad to state, that the legislature of Maryland has introduced a bill giving permission to persons to liberate their slaves, on condition of their emigrating to Guiana and Trinidad; formerly this could not be done unless the slave consented to go to Liberia. You are no doubt aware, that in all the slave states the increase of free coloured population is looked upon with dissatisfaction, and many of them have passed laws forbidding owners to manumit their slaves unless they removed them from the state at the same time. But for the detestable infernal slave-trade, which is carried on between Virginia and Maryland and the cotton and sugar planters in the south and west, those states would no doubt long ago have followed the examples of their northern neighbours and abolished slavery; not from any compunctious visitings of conscience, but because, from the impoverished state of the soil, slave labour is not in the majority of cases profitable. Mr. Randolph, a distinguished American senator, told the Virginians long ago, that instead of their slaves running away, the time would come when (they the Virginians) would be glad to run away from their slaves. This prophecy would long since have been accomplished, had not the perpetually increasing demand in the sugar and cotton states for slave labour enabled the planters to adopt, with great profit, the honourable vocation of 'slave breeding.'—But among the planters there are many persons who are restrained by moral considerations from selling their slaves to the 'dealers,' and who would willingly manumit them if no obstacles were offered by the legislature. I entertain no doubt at present, that I shall succeed in procuring the liberation of many slaves on condition of giving them a passage to Guiana, and I hail the proceedings of the legislature of Maryland as highly auspicious to my undertaking."

It appears from this statement, that Mr. Carbery's mission is looked upon as acting in a similar way to the American Colonization Society. Yet the *Liberator* (Mr. Garrison's paper) encourages it; and so does Dr. Channing—adding the very significant words, "Depend upon it, Mr. Carbery, the abolitionists must do it." We hope the abolitionists will see what they are about.

A great show is now made of liberality and indulgence to immigrants, and it has its effect; but its genuineness may be doubted. It is not all gold that glitters, nor is it safe to accept matters as indulgences which ought to be secured as rights.

Much pains has been taken by the government to induce the court of policy to pass a satisfactory civil list. If they would do this, there was scarcely anything that Lord John Russell would not grant them, copious means of encouraging immigration included. The combined court, however, have attached to the civil list impossible conditions; one of which is, that they shall have unrestricted permission to obtain immigrants from all parts of the world! The *Guiana Chronicle* bewails their fatuity.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The subject on which AN ENGLISHWOMAN has written to us will not be discussed in our pages.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, JULY 1ST.

At the period of our last issue we announced that the Anti-slavery Convention was sitting; we have now to announce that its session has closed. From day to day—the sabbath alone excepted—its deliberations were continued, until late in the evening of Tuesday the 23rd ultimo. Ten complete days were thus spent in its business, and certainly they were spent in a most business-like manner. The attendance of delegates and the interest of the proceedings were sustained to the last. If it was felt difficult in anticipation to understand what the Convention might find to do, it was not long before all such difficulties vanished away. Foreign delegates have expressed noble and uncompromising sentiments, the reports of which will be of incalculable influence in the countries from whence they came—of which the speeches of the American delegates present an eminent example. Treasures of information have been acquired, by the kind and invaluable communications of gentlemen thoroughly acquainted with the several departments of the vast subject the Convention had before them, a sample of which may be cited in the admirable paper of Dr. Madden on the slavery of Cuba. Principles have been discussed and laid down which have important practical bearings, and the enunciation of which will go far towards moulding the attitude of society into an express condemnation of slavery—as in the case of denying christian communion to the slave-holders. And, finally, measures have been determined on for awakening the attention of both sovereigns and people to the obligation and necessity of liberating the millions who are still held in bondage—as an illustration of which we may quote the resolution to address all sovereigns whose dominions comprehend slaves. After citing these examples, however, we beg to observe that we have cited them as examples only; and to add that they do not stand out all prominently among the numerous proceedings of which we can here make no mention. The conviction, indeed, has been universal among those who have witnessed its proceedings, that the Convention cannot fail of producing much good, and an amount of good very far exceeding—although these have been great—the trouble and expense incurred by it. That an assembly of four hundred men, collected from such diverse quarters, should have addressed themselves to so much important business without some deviations

from perfect regularity, or should have got through it without an occasional ruffle, was not to be expected; but on the whole, the proceedings have been conducted with admirable temper, wisdom, order, and unanimity—so much so, as to afford eminent reason for thankfulness to Him who has all hearts in his hand, and just ground for believing that he has vouchsafed his merciful blessing. One painful event only occurred. On the fourth day of the Convention, during the afternoon sitting, a waiter who had gone to close the windows against rain, was, by the rebound of one of them, precipitated from the cornice of the hall, a height of nearly thirty-feet. We deeply regret to state, that his fall, (which created of course a deep and most painful sensation) although not immediately fatal, has been productive of fatal results. It is matter of gratitude, however, that it did not occasion the loss of more lives than one, and that those upon whom the falling servant was thrown have suffered, as may at present be hoped, no permanent injury. Subject to this affecting occurrence, every providential circumstance connected with the assembly has been favourable. The sittings of the Convention during the two last days were, on account of the pre-engaged state of Freemasons' Hall, conducted at the Friends' Meeting House in Gracechurch-street, which was found well adapted to the purpose. They were closed by well-merited expressions of thanks to the vice-chairmen and secretaries, upon whom so large a portion of labour have fallen, together with the publication committee and the gentlemen of the press. After the business of the Convention had been concluded, the Rev. Mr. Woodwork, with a few serious and suitable remarks, presented the following sentiments, which the assembly received in devotional silence.

That this Convention desires to offer reverend thanksgivings to ALMIGHTY God, for his gracious providence in permitting the assembly of so many christian philanthropic men from different parts of this country and from other nations to deliberate on the best means of effecting the utter extinction of slavery and the slave-trade, for the harmony which has obtained among its members as to fundamental principles of action, and for the cordiality and general unanimity which have distinguished their proceedings. And that, re-calling to mind those pacific, moral, and religious principles upon which as a Convention it is agreed to act, it would conclude its important deliberations by expressing its entire dependence on the blessing of Him who has given us command to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free, and by recording its solemn sense of the necessity for every friend of the cause not to relax in their efforts in this great undertaking, until unconditional freedom shall be secured to every slave.

We have made the preceding statement as a matter of fact, and not of eulogy. If it were proper for us to speak the praises of the Convention, we might easily find topics of commendation. We might say much and truly of the purity of motive, the singleness of heart, and the willing self-denial by which the assembly was actuated, and the noble consecration to the cause of freedom by which all its proceedings were animated and sustained. We might place it beside other gatherings, whether of crowned heads, of statesmen, of merchants, or of philosophers; and we might challenge pre-eminent distinction for it in comparison with them all. In disinterestedness, benevolence, and comprehensiveness, in enlightened views, in hallowed feeling, in lofty sentiment, in determined perseverance, it has had not only no superior, but no equal. It is unique, and has neither likeness nor companion in the history of the world. We check ourselves, however. Too closely are we connected with this matter to be at liberty to enlarge in such a strain. Others of no mean name and eloquence have said such things, and may again say them. For ourselves, we have only to add, let our works be our eulogy.

On Wednesday, June 24th, was held at Exeter Hall the first Annual Meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, of which we have given some account elsewhere. It was altogether a splendid and powerful meeting, and a worthy finale to the proceedings of the Convention. Particularly gratifying was it to see on the right hand of the royal duke who presided, M. de Guizot, the French ambassador to this country; inasmuch as his presence on this occasion may be considered as a public pledge of the determination of his government to accomplish the abolition of slavery in the French dominions.

These matters have far outrun our capacity of immediate reporting. We shall, however, continue to give double numbers of this paper, until we have fetched up the whole of our lee-way, and placed the entire proceedings on record in our pages. We believe we may state that they will subsequently appear in a still more complete and authentic form in a separate publication, which will deserve no mean rank among contributions to the instruction and welfare of mankind.

THE question of reducing the duty on foreign sugars has been discussed in the House of Commons, and negatived by a large majority. The deficiency in the supply of sugar from our colonies has given rise to the demand for the admission of the foreign article; and were it possible to bring into the British market only sugar the produce of free labour, we should be far from regretting it. This, of course, has not been contemplated by the parties agitating the subject, neither would it be practicable if attempted. The admission of slave-grown sugar into the home market could not be viewed without the deepest concern, since it would occasion a most lamentable aggravation both of slavery and the slave-trade. In the proceedings of the anti-slavery convention, Dr. Lushington founded on this circumstance a strong appeal to Mr. Knibb to encourage the emancipated peasantry in the cultivation of the sugar estates. Mr. Knibb replied to this with the best feeling

and gave assurance that, if the peasantry should be justly treated, he would use his influence to promote the cultivation of sugar but he added, with his characteristic emphasis, "If they are to suffer such oppressions as are inflicted by the laws lately enacted, we will go to the mountain; and, even if England be ruined, Jamaica shall be free." There is something in these words deserving the attention of more parties than those who heard them.

We have to congratulate the friends of humanity that the Hill Coolies are saved for the present. On the question that the bill (the Colonial Passengers' Bill) do pass, Dr. Lushington moved the omission of Lord John Russell's clauses, and the motion, we rejoice to say, was carried by a majority of forty-nine. This result is to be ascribed principally, no doubt, to the interposition of the East India Company, who, at the late quarterly court of proprietors, adopted a petition hostile to Coolie exportation, and thus gave the *coup de grace* to the noxious scheme. We see it stated, however, that the issue is owing in part also to the tenacity with which Lord John Russell has withstood the importunities of the West Indians to share the spoil. If he will not let the Coolies be taken to British Guiana, he shall not export them to Mauritius. Such are the elements of legislation! Of course now, before anything more is attempted in this direction, we shall have the East Indian documents, which are all important on this matter, and which have hitherto been wanting. From them there can be no question we shall derive ample materials for further, and we hope successful opposition to this new slave-trade.

THE last West India mail further acquaints us with the state of agitation into which this island of Jamaica has been thrown by the measures of the governor. At almost all the Baptist missionary stations, public meetings have been held on the subject of Sir Charles Metcalfe's dispatch of the 16th of October last, and a very liberal use has been made on these occasions of the new-born privilege of freedom of speech. The tenor of the resolutions passed at these meetings may be judged of from those which appear in our columns as advertisements. The energy thus evinced by the Baptists (who, in addition to the public meetings, have addressed a letter to the governor, calling upon him to justify his despatch by facts) is galling, of course, to the old plantocracy, and has brought down upon them a storm of malignant invective, unequalled since the memorable period of 1831. To the previously existing matters of contention the Baptists have now added a religious question, by making some pretty severe attacks upon the church. This step appears to have occasioned them the loss of some friends, and to have inflamed beyond all bounds the rage of their enemies. At one of the meetings the quotation of an expression which has become sufficiently celebrated in this country—the church destroys more souls than it saves—so wrought on Mr. Castello, the Editor of the *Falmouth Post*, that he started up to denounce it as "a lie," and, in order to defend the assaulted church, exhibited the carnal weapons of a heavy stick in one hand and a large open knife in the other, thus bidding "defiance to the Baptists," and all their crew. On the point of dispute thus raised we shall express no opinion. We should have thought that the Baptists in Jamaica would have found enough to do under present circumstances, without augmenting either the number or the vehemence of their controversies; but of this, of course, they must judge for themselves. It is due to them to say that they exhibit no signs of fear, and in the multitude of their adherents they have an undoubted tower of strength. Another occasion of vehement denunciation has been found in the declaration of one of the missionaries, that, there being now a considerable number of free-holders among them, "they did intend to influence the elections." Of course they do; and so does every man in this country, or anywhere else, who has a vote. And so they ought; they would be traitors to the cause of liberty if they did not. Is it possible that the little knot of attorneys who have hitherto had the power of returning the members of assembly should have been supposing that black men would acquire votes as free-holders and *not use them*? We are sure they will be sorely disappointed. The elective franchise is a privilege of far too great and obvious value for the young freeholders to despise; and let them know that the influence on an election which any man can exert by his vote is a just and legitimate influence, which he not only may use without fault, but cannot refuse to employ without a dereliction of his duty. Let them be deterred from it by no outcry, and by no intimidation. In concluding this article, we make a short quotation from the *Baptist Herald*, to show the present feeling of that body:—

The Baptists (says the governor) are a political party; the Baptists (says the mercenary and needy press) have proved themselves by their late meetings to be what his Excellency has represented them to be. That the Baptists have formed opinions, and that their views of the conduct of his Excellency are widely different from those of the pro-slavery press, we are ready to admit; but that the Baptists "have done evil," or are doing evil, we most strenuously deny. The fact is, the influence of this body of Christians is the terror of the slavery faction; their numbers constitute a formidable phalanx on the side of freedom; their public meetings exhibit their growing ascendancy; and their righteous principles form the most powerful obstacle to the encroachments and inroads of a policy fraught with the malignity, and armed with the machinery, of an accursed system of oppression. They have, however, nothing to fear. Their cause is the cause of justice, of humanity, and liberty; and greater is He who is for them than all they who are against them.

ANOTHER scene is now in course of exhibition in the drama of Grant *versus* Stainsby and Oughton. Our readers cannot have forgotten the action brought by this notorious person against the Rev. Messrs. Stainsby and Oughton for defamation, or the verdict of a Jamaica jury, amercing these faithful ministers in four thousand five hundred pounds damages, with ruinous costs. Under legal advice this iniquitous decision was carried into the court of error, with a view of bringing it, if necessary, before the privy council. It appears, however, to have been necessary, in order to carry out this design, that the amerced parties should give security for the payment of the damages and costs, in case of the decision being ultimately against them. As they were resolved never to pay these damages, they refused to give this security. Grant has consequently obtained judgment for the amount, and these admirable and persecuted men are now suffering under this process. Mr. Oughton, with whose proceedings we happened to be more fully acquainted than Mr. Stainsby's, has made use of the little time afforded him to pay all his just and lawful debts; and, abandoning the rest of his furniture and books to the process of law, has gone to prison to take the benefit of the Insolvent Act. His determination in this matter is noble, and we think wise. The principle is, that, if the West Indians, who can easily enough get verdicts for large damages, can also get those damages paid, there will be a bounty on malicious prosecutions, and no limit to the multiplication of them. They may, perhaps, be repeated out of sheer malice; but at all events, they must not be allowed to become profitable speculations. On this ground Mr. Oughton, who in his own person is nearly worthless as a pecuniary victim, has preferred suffering an incarceration of some months in order to take the benefit of the law as an insolvent debtor, to purchasing his liberty and ease by expending the funds of British and Christian benevolence in rewarding his detestable persecutor. His affectionate flock will minister kindly to his wants while he is in prison, and the sympathy, admiration, and prayers of the wise and good will everywhere be engaged on his behalf. We earnestly hope that a kind Providence may watch over his life, and preserve it amidst the perils of so critical a situation.

We have further learned that, upon the examination of this trial at the colonial office, orders were sent to the attorney-general of Jamaica to take depositions respecting the conduct of Grant, and, if in his opinion they warranted such a measure, to institute a public prosecution against him. The depositions thus taken, as we are informed, make out a worse case against this infamous debauchee than that exposed by the prosecution of Stainsby and Oughton; but, upon their being submitted to the governor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, (who has received Grant at his table) he declined to sanction a prosecution, on the ground that "they were too horrid to be true!" They are therefore sent to Downing Street for further instructions. Are we to imagine it possible they should be cushioned there? We know that Chief Justice Sir Joshua Rowe, who tried the case, and who afterwards welcomed Grant, as one of his associate judges, to sit on the bench by his side, is in England, and it may be part of his object to smother the rank impurities of his friend; but we trust Lord John Russell will never lend himself to such a scheme. A state of morals so awfully polluted and polluting as this case of Grant's brings to light, requires all that can be done by the government and by all its officers to contribute to its purification.

A most serious crisis has been produced in Jamaica by the inconsiderate (to use the mildest possible term) conduct of the governor, in giving his sanction to some of the laws enacted by the assembly during their late session, together with the unqualified applause with which he thought proper to take leave of that body. That applause we are sorry to say has been echoed at home; and the noble secretary for the colonies has stated in parliament that the government are highly gratified with the conduct of the house of assembly. He has further informed the country that he does not mean to advise her Majesty to disallow any of the laws complained of, but that he is about to content himself with making representations to the island legislature, which he trusts will not be uninfluential for their improvement. Now it is ascertained beyond all doubt, and indeed is manifest on an attentive view of the laws in question, that there are inserted into them most unrighteous and cruel clauses, directly denying justice and working oppression; and that they constitute a series, so connected one with another as by their combined operation to produce, what was no doubt intended by the framers of them, a state of practical slavery under the name of freedom. Yet it is such laws that Lord John Russell will not recommend her Majesty to disallow. It is for the passing of such laws that Sir Charles Metcalfe, (whom Mr. O'Connell has justly designated "an unworthy successor" of Sir Lionel Smith), has eulogized the assembly of Jamaica, and the secretary of state for the colonies has repeated the disgraceful praise on the floor of the British parliament. His lordship has been long regarded as the friend of liberty and social improvement, and there is not one of her Majesty's ministers from whom there might have been expected a more firm front against the restoration of planter tyranny under the name of conciliation. It will be a severe mortification and disappointment if his hands, beyond those of all other men, are to be employed in rivetting anew the chains of the slave, and in wresting from nearly a million of British subjects the freedom which the British people have so dearly purchased for them. As to the representations which he believes will be so influential with Jamaica planters to extract the poison out of their

new laws, not the slightest expectation of good can be founded on them. Even if they should ultimately lead to any beneficial change, which is in the highest degree improbable, it can only be through a series of delays extending, perhaps, through several years, during which time the oppressive laws will continue to be in operation, as they now are, and within which time they must have accomplished incalculable mischief, if they will not even have effected the whole of their design. Most earnestly do we call on the noble lord at the head of the colonial department to give his serious attention to this important matter; and most emphatically do we affirm our own conviction that nothing but the exercise of the royal prerogative in this instance can secure either freedom for the negro, or prosperity for the planter.

To the prosperity of the planter, indeed, the laws in question are as unequivocally hostile as to the liberties of the negro. No error more egregious can they have fallen into, than to have supposed that oppressive laws will augment their command over labour. However they may operate in this method for a time, their effect in the long run, and very shortly too, will be directly the reverse. They will give greater vehemence and impatience to the desire which already extensively exists among the peasantry to acquire small plots of ground, and to become independent. The planters know very well that considerable portions of land have already been purchased by the missionaries, and that free villages are rising on every side. Such laws as they have lately passed are directly adapted to give strength and magnitude to this course of things. Land is too frequently in the market for the missionaries to be prevented from buying it to any extent they please; and the multiplication of free villages is the plan upon which they have determined. We hail this determination with the greatest delight; since we are convinced, not only that the system presents the only escape for the peasantry from the rod of oppression, but also that it is the unequivocal germ of social happiness and improvement, without being in any degree hostile to the cultivation of sugar. We could even find it in our hearts to thank the house of assembly for enacting laws which have so direct a tendency to force onward a system so full of benefit to the negro, to violate his deeply rooted but foolish local attachments, and to drive him by despair to a change he would have done well to adopt from choice. But what are the infatuated planters about for themselves? Do they not see that such dreadful pressure upon men who can escape from them is but leaving themselves every day more destitute and helpless? They say they want labourers to remain; and they proceed to furnish them with cogent reasons to depart! It is true they cannot all go at once; but many can go, and the rest as soon as possible will follow. Already is one of the Baptist chapels turned into a barracks—that is to say, it is divided into small apartments for the temporary accommodation of families who are waiting for free allotments—and the missionaries are resolved to devote every one of their chapels to a similar use, rather than there shall be wanting an asylum for the cruelly ejected tenant, or the houseless wanderer wickedly hunted as a vagrant. It is madness for the planters to persevere in such a course. Sugar cultivation must be destroyed by it. All the branches of agriculture, but especially this, are already feeling the ruinous effects of it; and it is only by adopting a different course that the productiveness of the estates can be saved.

There is yet another point of view in which the subject may be regarded. The Jamaicans, like the planters of Guiana and Trinidad, are crying out for emigrants; yet at the same time they are making the condition of the labourer there oppressive beyond endurance. In this respect the planters of Trinidad and Guiana have shown much greater sagacity. Without making the laws what they should be, the managers of estates in these colonies have begun materially to mend their manners, and have adopted indulgent courses toward immigrant labourers. The consequence is that they are receiving large additions to their labouring population, and are deriving an immediate reward from their wisdom. But who do the planters of Jamaica think will emigrate to the isle of springs under the system they are now pursuing? Not the veriest wretch on earth will knowingly place himself within the reach of their oppressions. They may as well "call spirits from the vasty deep." If, therefore, they neither fear God nor regard man—both of which conclusions we might, perhaps, be constrained to admit—for their own interest they should stop in their career of folly.

WE congratulate the island of Dominica on the decisive measure which has at length been taken by the government, in order to destroy the factious and virulent opposition which has long and effectually been presented to every salutary proposition by the majority of her Majesty's council in that island. Mr. Blanc, the president of that body, as its senior resident member, has been suspended by the lieutenant-governor, and the resignation of another member, Mr. F. H. Garraway, has been accepted. Major Macphail and the government deserve great credit for this resolute proceeding, which has long been imperatively demanded. Things will go on better now in Dominica.

There is advertised in our columns to day, at a very moderate price, a very pretty medal, commemorative of the Anti-slavery Convention just held. On the principal face is the head of Mr. Clarkson, executed in bold relief, with a border inscription, "Thomas Clarkson, president of the Anti-slavery Convention, June 12, 1840." On the reverse is the now well-known figure of the kneeling African in chains, with the motto, "Am I not a man and a brother?" This figure is executed with great spirit.

A DREAM OF THE FUTURE.

TO THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

In the deep midnight solitude
A vision o'er my spirit came;
Methought upon a mountain stood
A mighty angel, robed in flame,
Who, with a voice that shook the sphere,
Call'd to the nations, every one,
To gather at his feet and hear
That a new era had begun.
And lo! he wav'd his giant hand,
And forth they came, from every land
Illumin'd by the sun.
Thick as the dust o'er deserts driven
In clouds by the Sirocco blast,
From every region under heaven
Th' innumerable millions pass'd.
Methought upon a boundless shore
Before my eyes outstretch'd they stood,
Sublime and vast, and evermore
Moved like the green leaves of a wood,
When storms amid their branches blow,
Roaring and shaking to and fro,
A fearful multitude.
With visage that outshone the sun,
So bright with heavenly love to men,
When they had gathered every one,
Methought the angel spoke again.
O'er all the listening earth his voice
Roll'd like the thunder passing by,
And bade the suffering lands rejoice
And praise their God that rul'd on high,
That Strife had drunk her fill of gore,
And Peace should reign for evermore
On earth as in the sky.
The people bowed their myriad knees,
And the deep murmur of their pray'r,
Like the conflicting roar of seas,
Broke forth upon the silent air.
He spoke again, and all was dumb
While peal'd the words o'er land and sea,
"Rejoice, O man, the hour has come,
When slavery must cease to be;
The cry has risen from the sod,
From suffering millions up to God,
And all mankind are free!"

"No more shall mother slaves give birth
To babes for traders to trepan;
No more shall tyrants rule the earth,
Or man be enemy of man.
From West to East—from South to North,
The voice of rivalry shall cease,
And both the white man and the swarth
Shall see their mutual love increase,
And still, while plenty crowns the sod,
Shall both enjoy the gifts of God
In freedom and in peace!"

"No more shall war affright the day,
Or rapine smoke obscure the sun,
The olden age has pass'd away,
And the new era has begun!"
He said—and in a stream of light
Methought he vanish'd to the sky,
While all the people at the sight
Bowed low their heads in ecstasy.
And call'd each other to rejoice
And shout with one triumphant voice
Praise to the Lord on high.

The Vision fled!—O dreaming heart!
And shall the hope in slumbers given
Droop in the waking, and depart?
Forbid it, O relenting heaven!
Experience may obscure the beam
That hearts enthusiastic see;
But were perfection all a dream,
How cold and dark this world would be!
Hopes of the just—if ye increase,
The strife begun shall never cease
Till all mankind are free!

CHARLES MACKAY.

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

(Continued from our last.)

MONDAY, June 15th.

The resolutions proposed by Mr. Birney having been unanimously carried, the convention entertained a motion on the influence of British literature.

MR. STANTON, the Secretary of the Abolition Society of America, said it was on account of some sentiments advanced by the gentleman who had supported Mr. Birney's resolution, he wished to pass to what he said with regard to the operation of the American constitution with reference to slavery. They admitted that at the outset their fathers had sinned, and that they, their sons, had sinned also, with regard to the constitution of America. He begged, therefore, to make a plain exposition of one or two principles of the constitution as they bore upon slavery, and he would take an opposite course to Mr. Birney, to show what the general congress could do indirectly for the extinction of slavery. The hon. member for Dublin had alluded to the district of Columbia. It was true, the general congress of the United States

had not power to abolish slavery through all the states, but they had the power to do it in this district. Did they ask what could be the benefit of abolishing slavery in so small a district? In the first place the occasional discussion of the whole question must take place, and all the various objections of the slave holders must be met, and must be, as they would be, completely answered. Now, in his country, as in this, it was the habit to report speeches at length; these reports were printed in their newspapers, and carried into every part of the slave-holding states, where an anti-slavery delegate could not venture but to meet certain destruction by lynch law, or the yet more summary jurisdiction of the bowie-knife. Thus they would bring the subject home to the planter's bosom, and thus sooner or later they might operate upon his heart. (Hear and cheers.) Again, with regard to the district of Colombia, not only would it be the subject of discussion by the highest legislative body in his nation, but by their abolition of slavery in that district this body would say to the nation that it was a system that was not fit to live. It would be a declaration by the highest authority in the land that slavery ought to be exterminated. (Hear, hear.) It was in allusion to this that senator Preston in South Carolina, who strongly resembled the hon. and eloquent gentleman (Mr. O'Connell) beside him, not only in personal appearance, (laughter) but also in the use of the argument *ad hominem*—had said, "We must resist the abolition of slavery in Colombia." And why? "Because it is the gateway of American slavery." On this ground the American congress had refused even to receive petitions on the subject, in defiance of the right of petition, in defence of which, when refused by the British throne, his fathers went to battle and to death; and thus—I am, said the hon. gentleman, an American, and you will pardon me for saying so—wrong from it that independence which they regarded as their birthright. (Cheers.) Yet this same people for five successive sessions have denied this right. (Hear, hear.) Again, congress had the power not only to abolish slavery in Colombia, but indirectly to exterminate what is called the internal, but what Quincy Adams rightly called on the floor of the senate, the infernal slave-trade. (Cheers.) It is admitted generally that congress has the power to exterminate this, the main pillar of American slavery. He had called it the main pillar—if permitted he would vary the figure, and call it the jugular vein of the system, without which it would cease to live. The northern states were the breeding states, while the southern states were the consumers. The northern slave states reared slaves, whom the southern states worked into premature graves. (Hear, hear.) The former were the Congos and Guineas of American slavery to the extreme southern states. In raising hemp and tobacco at home they did not need slave-labour. Slavery, therefore, was made profitable in the northern states by raising men and women for sale, (hear, hear) and he would only say, with regard to their ambassador to this country, that while he was a slaveholder, if he did not traffic in human flesh, he was an exception to the great mass of Virginian slaveholders, and he thought it incumbent on that gentleman to prove that he came within the exception instead of the general rule. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. O'CONNELL—He denied any knowledge of such practices in America.

MR. STANTON—Then I say he is too ignorant to represent the American people here, (loud cheers) or too dishonest; for there lies on this table a document from the press of his native state, which says, that in 1806 twenty millions of dollars worth of slaves were sold from Virginia to the other states. (Hear, hear.) Virginia not a slave-breeding state? In what else is her prosperity but in human flesh? (Hear, hear.) Now what would be the effect of the extermination of the internal slave-trade? The answer was—It was profitable there in the cultivation of cotton, sugar, and molasses, to urge men to labour beyond what human nature could bear. The slaves in the cotton fields were worked into their graves in seven years—a system which, if universally carried on, would depopulate the world in a century. How was this vacuum supplied? By slaves from Virginia and other breeding states. (Hear, hear.) He would mention a fact, by way of illustrating this, which had been told him by a Baptist minister who attended the convention from Virginia. He said that he had asked a Baptist slaveholder, a member of his congregation in Virginia, whether he was not apprehensive lest the slaves should rise in insurrection against their masters? and the answer was, that there had been sometimes apprehensions of it, but that God, in his providence, had opened for them a safety valve in the extreme southern states, which purchased their slaves, and worked them to death in seven years. (Great sensation.) Therefore he (Mr. Stanton) asserted, that if congress took up the sword of constitutional power and cut this jugular vein, slavery would turn pale and gasp at the southern end, and die of apoplexy at the northern end. (Hear, and laughter.) There was another way in which this might be accomplished, namely, by the non-admission of what were called free states to the Union. At the period of the passing of that splendid declaration, that all men were created equal and entitled to equal rights, there were thirteen states in the union, of which six were free states, or just on the point of being free, and seven were slave states. Since the American confederacy was formed thirteen other states had been admitted to the Union, eight of which were slave, and five free states. But this admission was voluntary on their part, and thus they had swelled the numbers of slave-holders in congress both of senators and representatives. Yes, like him of old, they had sold their birthright, but they had not, like him, obtained for it a mess of pottage, for they now ruled them with a rod of iron. These slave states now controlled the nation. But there was hope for freedom even yet. In the north-western section of the republic there was a most splendid country now rapidly filling up with the free population of the United States. This formed what was called the north-west territory, the land of which was of the most fertile kind, which steam-boats traversed for upwards of three thousand miles, and which was fertile in towns and cities. (Hear.) The population of the United States flowed over, not into the slave states, but into this district; and now there were two new territories ready for admission to the union. If these states were admitted to the union, they might by-and-bye give the anti-slavery party the preponderance, for the south had nothing wherewith to counteract them but swamps and Indians. Here then was the reason why Texas wished for admission to the union. These far north-west states were rapidly making New Englands, and the southern states would not be able to withstand them, unless Texas were admitted to the union. Was it asked, Is this the situation of America? Even so. The general government had no power to abolish slavery, but in the indirect manner of which he had spoken. They had the power to alter the con-

stitution, but it would require the assent of two-thirds of the whole states to accomplish this. Hence the necessity for reliance upon moral power; and when he spoke of moral power he meant also political action, (Hear, hear,) and hence the resolution he had the honour to submit. They relied on external application; the civilised world must erect a wall of exterminating fire around American slavery, that would melt the hard heart of the slave-holder. (Hear, hear.) The abolitionists were feeble as a body, but strong in power. (Cheers.) As yet their numbers were contemptible, though, thank God, they were growing in strength. Therefore they fell back for assistance on the civilised world. One great power they desired to bring to bear for this purpose was the literature of the world. He thought he was paying a compliment to his nation when he said they were a reading people. He had travelled from Torquay to London, and had hardly seen a newspaper; but everybody read with them—everybody in America was a politician—everybody had a title to nobility—everybody was heir apparent to the throne, (Laughter) hence they were politicians from necessity. Every mechanic had his summary, and every gentleman his broad sheet; the former was to be seen in every workshop, and the latter in all the saloons of their aristocracy, for such they had. The Americans were a reading and a discussing people, but he took pleasure in saying the fountain head of their literature was Great Britain. (Cheers.) It was from the land of Shakspeare and of Milton, of Bolingbroke and Pope, of Hume, and Robertson, and Mackintosh, they gathered all the gems which sparkled in their literary diadem. He came then to England, and said, give us an anti-slavery literature. (Hear, hear.) He would state some facts on this subject, which might be thought amusing. He had already alluded to the effect of British literature upon America, and such was the case with its theology. Their theology was that of Hall and Baxter, of Warburton and Paley, of Tillotson and Taylor. Their law was derived from that of Coke and Blackstone, and others down to Mansfield, who made judiciously the glorious decision, that the moment a slave set his foot upon British ground that moment he was free. Their histories were those of England, from Hume to Mackintosh. The politics and eloquence of America were derived from England. It was on those great principles which, previous to the revolution, had struck so deep, and thrown up their trenches so high, which were to be found in the works of Burke and the other distinguished men who then thundered in the senate, and which had made the hearts of the Americans burn within them, on which the eloquence of America was founded. Why, from the days of Chatham to O'Connell (cheers) the eloquence of the British senate had found attentive listeners in America. The eloquent denunciation of the scalping knife by Chatham had not only been thundered in the British senate, but in every city in America. It was recited in every school; and when a lad at school, he had oftentimes repeated it. And even now, in Boston, the denunciations of American slavery by O'Connell were repeated amid enthusiastic plaudits. Therefore British eloquence was the eloquence of America. There was another portion of her literature by which England might reach the American mind, namely, by reviews. Ten or fifteen thousand copies of reviews published in this country were circulated in the United States. An American house had ten or twelve thousand subscribers for those reviews, who subscribed on condition that they should be reprinted entire. An article in one of them, "The Martyr Age," excited so great a sensation there, that the publishers were obliged to apologize for its insertion. In the southern states a man must run the gauntlet, if suspected of entertaining anti-slavery principles. If such a one attempted to go into the birth-places of Rush, Jay, Franklin, and Washington, he must also take his winding-sheet with him; but these men would read these publications; they might feel disturbed by it, and put it down; but the next day they would feel perhaps some shame at being thus disconcerted by a book, and take it up again, and thus these principles might strike into their hearts, and take root downwards, and branch upwards. (Cheers.) He asked them on behalf of the American abolitionists that England would saturate her literature with abolition principles, (hear, hear) that her periodicals should join with them. There were novel readers in America as well as here, and they asked Edward Lytton Bulwer to introduce these principles into his works, they asked Dickens, who was read and honoured throughout America for his deep insight into human nature, to do so also; and they asked the newspaper press which, though of less importance, was also read in America, to assist in the great work, and if this were done, as slavery was abolished in the West Indies, so would American slavery fall. They had heard of resistance to moral power. The American people were a brave people, they had this moral power, but they would be unable to resist the influence of the literature of this country. This was his last hope. He spoke as one who had stood up against slavery amid strife and opposition, with those who had bared their breasts to the bowie knife in defence of their principles. (Cheers.) They fell back for assistance on British sentiment—on O'Connell, on Buxton, and on Clarkson, to reach forth their hands in their support, and cheer them on. Send us, concluded Mr. Stanton, I will not say a purified, but a vivified literature, instinct with the principles of freedom. Let it come in your literature, your periodicals, and your newspapers, and speak for freedom—and thus reach the ears of men whom the voice of the abolitionist cannot reach, until they shall feel a pleasure in the knowledge of the truth of our principles, and unite with us in their dissemination until slavery shall cease. (Loud cheers.) He concluded by moving—

"That while the literature of Great Britain exercises so vast an influence over the public opinion of America, we deem it the duty of British abolitionists individually, as well as collectively, to make systematic efforts to secure a frequent, clear, and full expression of the sentiments of the nation, through its leading political and literary periodicals on the subject of slavery and the anti-slavery enterprise in the United States; to fix the attention of the world on the successful results of the West India experiment, and to spread before the American public evidence of the deep indignation of the civilised world against a slave-holding republic."

The meeting then adjourned till four o'clock.

EVENING SITTING.

The chair was again taken at four o'clock by the Rev. R. K. Greville, LL.D., when the discussion of Mr. Stanton's motion was resumed.

Mr. WENDELL PHILLIPS, upon being called upon by the chairman, rose to second the resolution which had been proposed previous to the adjournment by Mr. Stanton. He had but a fact or two to add to the statements which had been made by Mr. Stanton, and, as he had gone through the ground so thoroughly, it was not necessary to detain the con-

vention any length of time. What he wished to call the attention of those present more particularly to, was the fact of the southern portion of the union being shut against all the efforts of the abolition press, and the north itself had also laid an embargo upon all anti-slavery proceedings. If anything issued from the anti-slavery society of New York, what became of it? Why, it died there. (Cheers.) They could not even persuade any of the great leading newspapers of the north to insert their publications, or the facts they stated with respect to the West India experiment, and it was utterly impossible for many of those present to imagine the ignorance that pervaded the northern public with respect to the question of slavery; and in spite of that ignorance they would not be instructed. Though there was no room in any portion of the American press for the advocacy of slavery abolition, or the statements of their proceedings, yet full latitude was given to the distorted calumnies of the Jamaica press. (Hear, hear.) There was, in fact, no attention paid to any anti-slavery publication in the United States, with the exception of some of the slave-holding portion of the community, who occasionally alluded to them because their feelings were harrowed up by them, and they were told truths which they did not like, and could not deny. Now in order to show the manner in which those who advocate the abolition of slavery were treated in Boston, he would advert to a circumstance which took place. In that city they had an atheneum, in which was a very extensive library. Lydia Maria Child, an individual who must be known to all present for her literary productions, was some time since allowed the use of the library there, but since she had written works against slavery, that permission had been recalled. She had been told that her works had been thrown out of the window by the solicitor-general of Massachusetts, and the greatest indignity had been used towards her. Several similar cases had taken place in other parts of the United States, and the fact was, that unless some different course was adopted, the anti-slavery society might just as well bottle up their publications, and place them under the corner-stones of the great buildings in America, as attempt to give them circulation through the whole community of the United States. The voice that was put forward in this great cause, and which spoke so loudly in England—was in America only a whisper, which was drowned in the discussion of parties. Mr. O'Connell had told them that morning that the flag of England floated in every sea, and its voice was heard in the remotest parts of the world. He agreed with that honourable gentleman in all that he had stated upon this important subject, and he trusted that this country would make its voice heard in America in behalf of those who were in bondage there. (Hear, hear.) They had been asked if they had not agitated the anti-slavery question in America, as Wilberforce did in England? They were doing so, and all they wished was that the English people, through the press, should state that they were doing so—(hear, hear, and cheers)—as that would effectually silence the malice of those who call the advocates of the abolition of slavery fanatics. (Cheers.) When he went back to America, and told them that he had seen the white man and the black man walk arm in arm, he should not be believed. Why? Because he was an abolitionist. (Cheers.) He wished to have it recorded by the British press, that the coloured man was to be received in the same manner as the white—that they were to be considered as brothers, deriving life and health from the same beneficent Creator. That was the principle, and the true principle, of the abolitionist, the man who was so despised and so little heeded in America. All the publications of the anti-slavery society were discarded in America; and he would venture to say, that even the tract of Mrs. Weld would not be read by one in a thousand persons in America. But if these things were noticed in the *Edinburgh*, and other publications in this country, they would be read in America with the greatest avidity. (Cheers.) Their wish was to raise the man who was a slave to a level with his fellow-man. They wished to do that by education, and also by exciting the sympathy of christians in his behalf. That was only to be done by the expression of the public sentiment—the religious public sentiment of England in their behalf. (Hear.) To show again the spirit which existed in America against those who advocated the abolition of slavery, he might just mention that the *Emancipator*, a publication the object of which was to be known from its name, had frequently been returned from the south to the north, because the post-master would not send it forward; and such was the height to which prejudice was carried on this subject in America, that if they were told in the pages of the *Emancipator* that such and such and such was the case, they would not believe it, but would say it was an anti-slavery lie. (Cheers.) But if the same things were only told them by a portion of the British press, they would believe every word of it. The fact was, that it might be said in America of this country that the sceptre had not departed from Judah, (cheers) that though the connexion had been dissolved between this country and America, as far as holding its own parliaments and directing its own affairs, yet they were in its vassalage, as far as talents and genius were concerned. The abolitionists had eloquent and devoted men in their cause, but the American public would not listen to them. England, and England alone, was the fulcrum by which American slavery was to be uprooted for ever. (Hear, hear.)

The worthy gentleman concluded by seconding the resolution.

Mr. STANTON wished, before the question was put from the chair, to state one or two facts showing the palpable ignorance in America of the proceedings of those who advocated the abolition of slavery. In one instance, a senator of Connecticut had stated to him that he did not know the fact that Great Britain had emancipated the slaves in its colonies. —(Laughter.) Another fact was with respect to a member of the congress of Ohio, who had stated that he did not know that Great Britain had put an end to slavery in her West Indian colonies. —(Hear, hear.)

Mr. G. BRADBURN of Massachusetts, wished to make a few observations before the resolutions were put. He agreed with the statements of his friend who had preceded him with respect to the ignorance of the Americans as to the proceedings in this country of those who advocate the abolition of the slave trade. He was, however, afraid that that ignorance was not genuine. He believed that they knew the truth well enough, but they were not willing to admit it; and the only way to make them do so, was by publishing the exertions of those who endeavoured to put an end to slavery in the publications of this country. —(Hear, hear.) The Americans called themselves a republic. Now he thought that it might be as well to try those who were against the abolition of slavery by their own theory. What was the meaning of the term republic? Why it meant a state governed for the interest of

the whole community. Was the interest of the whole community, he would ask, considered by any state, whether a republic or not, when slavery was allowed to exist? Yet such was the state of things in republican America. Why even the autocrat of Russia, who held his authority from God alone, admitted that the government should be carried on for the benefit of the people; and he would venture to say that the government of Russia was far more like a republic than the government of America, for in the latter country they did not profess to carry on the government for the benefit of the whole, for there it was said that all men were born equal with one another with the exception of negroes.—(Laughter.) They had not the liberty of the press in America, neither had they religious liberty, for a man in that country could not avow his religious conviction with respect to slavery, unless that conviction was that it was patriarchal. He hoped the periodicals of Great Britain would take some pains to hold up in their true character, a large number of persons in America, who called themselves abolitionists. Some who did so, were the very worst enemies the anti-slavery advocate had to deal with, for they called themselves abolitionists, because they did not wish it to be known how hostile they were to the just principles of humanity. It was one thing for them to call themselves abolitionists, and another to be so in reality. It was upon record, and history would therefore prove it, that at the time of the adoption of the American constitution it was stated, that not half a century would elapse before every State in America would put a total and entire end to slavery, and but for these terms it was his firm belief that that instrument would never have received the sanction of the states. The truth was, that every state in America was by that instrument placed under a solemn obligation to put an end to slavery. He trusted that the British people would labour to convince the clergy of the necessity of this great work, for hitherto he must confess that the British clergy were more in favour of emancipation than they were in America. —(Cheers.) He trusted that the people of this country would send forth the voice of earnest but affectionate remonstrance among the clergy on this subject, in order that they might impress upon the American clergy what their duties really were; and he would venture to say, that if they only put the 17,000 clergy of America right upon this subject, they would deal such a blow upon the monster slavery as would send him staggering to his own dark hiding place. It had been proved that emancipation was not only practicable but profitable, and the slave-owners must therefore either admit themselves wrong or assert that slavery was a christian institution. They had chosen the latter, and they must abide by the decision. The worthy gentleman sat down amidst much cheering.

Colonel MILLER wished to make a few observations before the resolution was put. He was sorry to say that in America every species of christian, the baptist, the wesleyan, the presbyterian, and all other denominations, were owners of slaves. This was alike disgraceful to the parties concerned, and the country in which it took place.

After a few words from Captain Stuart, Dr. Cox, the Rev. Mr. Keep, Mr. Forster, the Rev. Mr. Colver, Mr. Galusha, Mr. Fuller, and Mr. Lester, the resolution was agreed to.

Mr. BACKHOUSE moved a resolution to the effect, that the documents which lay on the table, relating to the state of slavery in America, should be referred to a committee to consider and report thereon, with a view to their publication.

The motion was agreed to, and the convention adjourned till ten o'clock the next day.

A committee on free labour was appointed, consisting of Messrs. John Cropper, Josiah Conder, John Sturge, William Boutbee, and William Kay; also a committee on the results of emancipation in the British colonies, consisting of Messrs. Samuel Bowley, Knibb, Joseph Eaton, Prescod, Captain Stuart, W. W. Anderson, and W. Morgan.

TUESDAY, JUNE 16th, 1840.

The proceedings commenced under the presidency of J. G. Birney, Esq. The SECRETARY then read the minutes of last meeting, which were confirmed.

FRENCH SLAVERY.

The SECRETARY having announced that the business of the day would be the discussion of French slavery, proceeded to read the credentials of the French delegates.

Dr. BOWRING then introduced the French deputies, who were received with loud cheers. M. D'Isambert and his colleagues, he said, had honourably distinguished themselves in the French legislature by their efforts on behalf of liberty generally, and the abolition of slavery in particular.—(Cheers.) There was also here Monsieur Cremieux, a distinguished French barrister, who, though an Israelite, had defended the protestants of the Garde from cruel persecution.—(Loud cheers.)

Monsieur. D'ISAMBERT then rose, and was greeted with the most cordial cheering, which having courteously acknowledged, he proceeded to address the convention in French. As he finished every passage Dr. Bowring translated it to the convention. His version, however, had better be given in a collected form. "Our friend (said the Doctor) begun by expressing the embarrassment under which he found himself. He regretted that the French abolitionists had not the power of gathering round them such assemblies as these. But their government was so constituted that it was apprehensive of the outbreak of popular enthusiasm, and, therefore, the consideration of the subject of slavery had been delegated to small bodies, selected by the government, generally composed of persons of high influence and rank. Hence the friends of abolition had been deprived of many of the means of action possessed in this country. There was one single society of them—in Paris—with no provincial branches, so that its power was but slight. Still the government had done much for the great cause by the formation of these committees. He entreated the convention not to be too hasty in condemning the government for having done no more. It had been one of the errors of French governments to undertake too much. Thus, in 1830, the government took upon itself, not one, but many, momentous questions connected with public liberties, and had, in consequence, to a great degree failed. Hence the proceedings of the French government might bear upon this question the appearance of hesitation. But he entreated the British public to remember, that the French were the first nation that abolished slavery, and abolished it in their own land.—(Cheers.) He said it had often been stated in foreign States

that the English had been actuated by selfish motives in carrying emancipation, and that it was because they found or fancied it to be their own interests. If this should be said in the French legislature, he would tell them that they were mistaken—(Cheers.)—that he had found this convention extending their views from West Indian to East Indian slavery, and expanding their generous philanthropy into every part of the world—and in the chamber of deputies his voice should not be wanting in their cause.—(Loud cheers.) He had found that when in that chamber he had mooted the question of slavery, he had been, as was usually the case, assailed with violent vituperation, and covered with the obloquy and opprobrium of a *salaried* press.—(Hear, hear, hear.) Notwithstanding this, he and his friends of the negro would persevere, as they had persevered.—(Cheers.) The effect of their representations had already awakened public attention to the subject, and made some progress in ameliorating the condition of the slaves in French colonies.—(Hear, hear.) The reason, he said, why the abolition question had not been so much advanced in France was perhaps the want of some master mind that would devote mighty energies with untiring perseverance to it. There had arisen in the chambers no Wilberforce.—(Cheers.)—nor out of them no Clarkson.—(Cheers.) Still France had seen men truly zealous in the cause of liberty, and could boast of Condorcet, and Mirabeau, and Lafayette.—(Cheers.) One thing he could state, that in France there had never been any legal recognition or establishment of slavery.—(Cheers.) It had been permitted, not sanctioned, and introduced only by particular treaties into the colonies. It was as early as 1325 that a monarch of France declared that it ought to be the kingdom of the free.—(Cheers.)—and it was not until Louis the Thirteenth's reign that slavery obtained organization, under the merchants, who, with the pretence of colonization, availed themselves of slave services.—(Hear, hear.) Even the Code Noire as it was called (the black law), established for the slaves certain ameliorations, privileges, and protection.—(Hear, hear.)—it asserted this great principle, that no disability attached to particular colour respecting the possession of civil rights.—(Hear, hear, hear.) Slavery was the offspring of arbitrary power. Even before the revolution, however, it had been struck down in France, and when the liberties of the nation were resuscitated in the national assembly, Neckar addressed them as follows:—"The time will arrive when you will carry your views further—when you will extend your regards to your colonies—when you will have compassion on the unfortunate victims of your barbarous avarice there."—(Cheers.) But what nation was more called upon than France to promote the amelioration of the condition of the slave population? No nation knew better the evils which were inseparable from the slave-trade, and which had produced desolation and misery in all parts of the globe. What more glorious work could she join in, than to extend a friendly hand towards all those who endeavour to promote the same objects? Already had one distinguished nation given the signal of enlightened compassion to the world. The great cause of liberty must be eventually brought before the tribunal of nations, and what higher satisfaction, what greater glory could there be, than to obtain a pre-eminence in the glorious work? But woe! woe to France, if she did not recognize the importance of her position, and if such ambition was too great for her capacity. He would now refer to the great impression which had been produced in the national assembly by the few words which had been uttered by the celebrated Lafayette. They were to the following effect:—"You have declared that all those who are domiciled, who possess a dwelling, who pay the taxes, and against whom you can urge none of the incapacities which are declared by the constitution—that these men can be citizens. And are not the negroes men?"—(Cheers.) The question is concentrated into this. For me, I believe no doubt can be raised on this point, and it was to proclaim this simple truth that I mounted the

tribune." The declaration was received with shouts of applause, and produced a profound impression in the assembly.—(Hear, hear, and cheers.) But unhappily, the revolutionary torrent which soon afterwards succeeded carried away all attention from the subject. Afterwards, indeed, upon the flag of St. Domingo there was inscribed the words "Brave blacks! the French recognize your rights and your liberties."—(Loud cheers.) After the peace of Amiens, Bonaparte, who had not then experienced the reverses and adversity which he afterwards endured, re-established slavery and the slave-trade; and at that time public opinion was so little represented in any of the bodies nominally called representative, that they made no efforts to control the will of the sovereign. However, after the fall of Napoleon and his second rise, during the hundred days of his government, one of the acts that distinguished him, and probably which most honoured him, was his decree abolishing the slave-trade.—(Cheers.) The misery and sufferings of the slaves at St. Domingo, and the temporary freedom they enjoyed at Guadeloupe, had much advanced the question. In 1814, during the reign of the Bourbons, a law exceedingly unfavourable to the slaves was passed, prohibiting marriage between the black and white population; and it was urged, in a motion for this absurd legislation, that the marriages between the Moors and the Christians in Spain had degenerated the Spanish blood. (Hear, and a laugh.) In 1823 and 1824 some progress was made on the question, in consequence of public discussions that took place, and the question was again introduced into the Chambers; but in 1830, in consequence of the last revolution, the slave-trade was utterly and formally abolished. He anticipated the abolition of slavery as the necessary consequence of that step. They had been menaced with the consequences of agitating the question, and they were told that if it was mooted in the French chambers, there would be outbreaks, and violence, and revolutions in the colonies themselves. But the answer to that might be found in the fact, that the colonies had never been so tranquil as since the period when the agitation had commenced.—(Hear, hear.) Of late two very interesting reports had been drawn up on the social condition and present position of the slaves. These reports had been laid before the chambers—one of them had been prepared by M. Remusat, the present minister of the interior, and the other by M. de Toqueville, the author of democracy in America. These reports established principles, the development of which could not but lead eventually to the overthrow of slavery. These reports stated, that although they were not unwilling to consider the question of indemnity, yet they would not recognize the claim to indemnity as a right.—(Cheers.)—or that they could possess any property in man. The principle appeared to him to be already triumphant, and he considered the cause as already gained. Even in the colonies themselves public opinion had made great progress, and General Bertrand, who accompanied Napoleon to St. Helena, and who was himself a great West India proprietor, had informed him that matters could not remain as they were, and that hereafter the great cause must have a victorious issue. No doubt there would be great resistance to such a step in Martinique, but he anticipated great results from the growing influence of the free black population in Guadeloupe. The deputy now in Paris was sanguine in his anticipation of the final and complete overthrow of slavery. In French Guiana, though they were incapable of offering a long resistance, and although in the island of Bourbon the slave proprietors were very influential, still he did not believe that when the voice of France spoke out, that that voice would not be heard, and that the voice of France, proclaimed by her legislature, could by any possibility be resisted by her colonies.—(Loud cheers.) He was very anxious to introduce to the convention his friend M. Cremieux, who belonged to a body whose civil rights had been lately recognized in France, and who were now upon a perfect equality with their Christian brethren.—(Hear, hear.)

(To be Continued.)

G. W. ALEXANDER, IN ACCOUNT WITH THE BRITISH & FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

From the 1st of April, 1839, to the 31st of May, 1840.

Dr.		Cr.	
To Amount received in Donations, from the 1st of April, 1839, to the 31st of May, 1840.	£887 14 6	By Cash paid for Furniture of Offices, and fittings up of Premises, Painters, Carpenters, Ironmongery, Mason, Coals, Candles, Groceries, &c. &c.	£ 268 11 6
To Amount received in Annual Subscriptions, from the 1st April, 1839, to the 31st May, 1840.	189 19 0	By Cash for Rent of Premises, Salaries of House-keeper, Clerks, Messengers, &c.	135 1 3
To Cash received for Copies sold of the Anti-Slavery Reporter, and a few other publications.	22 2 5	By Cash for Home and Foreign Postages, including several extensive issues of Circulars.	94 11 6
		By Cash for Stationery, Printing, Books, Advertisements, Newspapers, &c.	427 12 0
		By Cash for Travelling Expenses of Agent of the Committee	65 0 0
		By Cash for Carriage on Parcels, Coach Hire, Minor Expenses connected with the Anti-Slavery Reporter, and disbursements at the Office	29 15 2
		By Cash in hand, May 31st, 1840	19 4 6
	<hr/> £1099 15 11		<hr/> £1099 15 11

the undersigned have examined this account with the Vouchers, and find it correct.

Signed { JOHN BEAUMONT.
HENRY STERRY.

No. 27, New Broad Street,
31st May, 1840.

In making all the necessary arrangements for the Anti-Slavery Convention, the Committee beg to remind their friends that a serious amount of Expense has been unavoidably incurred, amounting to upwards of One Thousand Pounds, independent of other outstanding liabilities.

Advertisements.

AT A SPECIAL MEETING OF THE FALMOUTH SOCIETY, FOR THE PROTECTION OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY, Convened at the particular request of its officers, and held at the baptist chapel in this town last Wednesday, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted. Moved by the Rev. W. Dendy, and seconded by the Rev. B. B. Dexter.

That the Rev. T. F. Abbott be requested to preside on this occasion. The chair was then taken by Mr. Abbott.

Moved by the Rev. B. B. Dexter, and seconded by the Rev. John Clark.

I. That this meeting desires to repeat and record its thanks to Almighty God, the sovereign ruler and supreme governor of the universe, for the great measure of tranquility and prosperity with which he hath graciously favoured this lovely island, more particularly since the complete emancipation of 300,000 of her people from unrighteous bondage.

Moved by the Rev. E. J. Francis, and seconded by Mr. Richard Brown.

II. That this meeting deeply regrets the appointment of a governor to this island who should have hazarded such opinions as are expressed in the despatch of his excellency Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe to the colonial secretary, bearing date 16th October, 1839, before he could have had reasonable time to have formed any correct idea of the state and conflicting views of the different parties over whom he is appointed to rule; and that it considers his censures on the labouring population and on their esteemed ministers, the baptist missionaries, are founded only on prejudice, injustice, and party bias.

Moved by the Rev. H. J. Dutton, and seconded by Mr. John White.

III. That in consequence of the singular and extraordinary despatch of his Excellency the governor having been written within, or about, three weeks after his arrival, and before his Excellency had the opportunity of obtaining any knowledge whatever of the character and conduct of the labouring population generally, or of the denomination in particular to which they are attached, but in which his Excellency has been pleased to heap wholesale odium upon them, and on the baptist missionaries,—it is the opinion of this meeting, that his Excellency, by throwing the whole weight of his official station into the oppressor's scale, has not only retarded the progress of that liberty which was purchased at so costly a price by the British Parliament, but has also awakened such distrust and suspicion that this meeting cannot have any confidence in the administration of his Excellency, Sir C. T. Metcalfe.

Moved by the Rev. T. E. Ward, and seconded by Mr. Andrew Dickson.

IV. That this meeting considers the attempt to do away with the stipendiary magistrates, together with the oppressive acts recently passed by the legislature and sanctioned by the governor, fraught with evil to the best interests of this colony, and that every proper and constitutional means should be resorted to of counteracting such invidious and injurious attempts.

Moved by the Rev. W. Dendy, and seconded by Mr. John Wallace.

V. That a copy of these resolutions, signed by the chairman, be forwarded severally to the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, Her Majesty's secretary of state for the colonial department; to his Excellency Sir Lionel Smith; to his Excellency Sir Charles T. Metcalfe; to the Rev. John Dyer, secretary to the baptist missionary society; and to the Rev. William Knibb, treasurer of this society, at present representing its interests in Great Britain; and that they be twice published in the Baptist Herald, the Colonial Reformer, the Patriot, and the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

RESOLUTIONS PASSED AT A PUBLIC MEETING, held at the Baptist Chapel, Jericho, St. Thomas in the Vale, on Saturday April 11th, 1840. Dr. A. L. Palmer, in the chair.

That part of Sir Charles Metcalfe's despatch respecting the baptist missionaries, having been read and commented on by the chairman, it was moved by Mr. James Clarke, seconded by Mr. John Howell, and unanimously resolved,

I. That we consider it our imperative duty to give expression to our sentiments on that portion of Sir Charles Metcalfe's despatch to the colonial secretary, dated October, 16th 1839, which affects us as a society of christians.

Moved by Mr. — Henry, and seconded by Mr. Edward Campbell.

II. RESOLVED,—That, so far from thinking that the intervention of the baptist missionaries has prevented a favourable settlement between the planters and labourers, it is our firm persuasion, that if it were not for the timely, prudent, and christian advice and consent of our own ministers, neither the planters nor ourselves would have been circumstanced as we are this day.

Moved by Mr. — Thomas, and seconded by Mr. — Cato.

III. RESOLVED.—That we do not think the influence exercised by the baptist missionaries is an evil. On the contrary, we know from experience, that their influence is of the most wholesome and loyal nature, and directly calculated to promote the best interests of all classes of the community.

Moved by Mr. — Campbell, and seconded by Mr. Phillip Reid.

IV. RESOLVED.—That we regret that Sir Charles Metcalfe, in proposing a remedy for diminishing the influence of the baptist missionaries, should have cast such unmerited reflections as he has done on the whole body of our ministers, as well as on ourselves.

Moved by Mr. Francis Dennis, and seconded by Mr. Samuel Clarke.

V. RESOLVED.—That for the information of his Excellency the governor and the public at large, we deem it our duty to state that the subscriptions given by us for the support of our church establishment are willingly contributed, and that our ministers have always impressed on us the necessity of contributing what we do from gospel motives, and with a ready mind.

Moved by Mr. Richard Hamilton, and seconded by Mr. Alexander Bell.

VI. RESOLVED.—That so far from "not liking the amount requisite for the support of our church establishment," it would afford us the greatest pleasure to be able to increase our contributions; and instead of becoming weary in well doing, we feel it our duty to augment our gifts as God prospers and blesses us.

Moved by Mr. George Davidson, and seconded by Mr. Edward Shaw.

VII. RESOLVED.—That we sympathise with our much-loved ministers whose churches have been reflected on in Sir Charles Metcalfe's despatch, and hope that in the midst of oppositions they will walk in the same course which they have hitherto pursued; a course which we feel persuaded will ultimately prove as beneficial to the planters as to ourselves.

Moved by Mr. — Harris, seconded by Mr. — Flowers and supported by Mr. James Steel.

VIII. RESOLVED.—That we view the proposed dismissal of the stipendiary magistrates as a most impolitic and alarming measure, directly calculated to injure the labouring population, and to revive practical slavery in the island under the name of liberty. That we trust her Majesty Queen Victoria will never sanction a measure so fraught with injustice to the majority of her subjects.

Moved by Mr. C. N. Palmer, and seconded by Mr. Thomas Williams.

IX. RESOLVED.—That the resolutions adopted at this meeting be inserted twice in the Colonial Reformer, the Baptist Herald, and the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter.

Dr. Palmer having left the chair, Mr. John Howell was called thereto, when the usual vote of thanks to the chairman was carried.

ANTI-SLAVERY MEDALS

Sanctioned by the British and Foreign Society for the Total Abolition of Slavery throughout the world, by J. Davis, Medallist, Birmingham. Sold wholesale by H. Painter, Agent, 5, Gough Square, Fleet Street, London, at 4s. 6d. per dozen.

AT the particular request of the deacons and officers of the Baptist church, assembling at Waldensia, baptist missionary station, in the parish of Trelawny, a meeting of the Society for the protection of Civil and religious liberty was convened at the above station on the 17th instant, when the following resolutions were unanimously carried:—

Mr. Richard Barrett in the chair. Moved by the Rev. T. E. Ward, seconded by Mr. Thomas Gardner.

I. That the singular despatch of his Excellency the governor to the Marquis of Normandy, dated 16th October 1839, be now read and taken into consideration.

Moved by Mr. J. Mc Laughlin. Seconded by Mr. T. Elliston.

II. That, in the opinion of this meeting, his Excellency the governor,—by gratuitously aspersing the character of the labouring population of this island, and condemning the conduct of our beloved ministers, whilst totally ignorant of both,—has proved himself to be a prejudiced man, and, therefore not worthy the confidence of the population of this island over whom he is appointed to rule.

Moved by Mr. J. Grant, seconded by Mr. R. Oliver, and supported by Mr. John Chrystie.

III. That this society conceives it due to its members, and to the public at large, that publicity should be given to this expression of their decided and unqualified protestation against the unjustifiable accusations of his Excellency Sir C. T. Metcalfe; and that these resolutions be printed accordingly in "The Baptist Herald" and Colonial Reformer," in the "Anti-Slavery Reporter," and "The Patriot" Newspapers.

BARBADOS.

AT a special meeting of the Committee of the Barbados Auxiliary British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society, held on Tuesday evening, March 24th, 1840,—present: Messrs. Edmund C. Haynes, S. B. Arthur, Henry Pinheiro, Edward W. Archer, Henry Hawkesworth, W. R. Hayes, Joseph Kennedy, L. Bourne, Samuel J. Prescod, Joseph Hamilton, Anthony Barclay, and Joseph Thorne. The following resolutions were adopted,—the first unanimously, and the second, third, fourth, and fifth, by a majority,—Messrs. Thorne, Bourne, and Kennedy dissenting, and Messrs. Pinheiro, and Arthur declining to vote.

Resolved, 1.—That this committee have witnessed, with extreme regret, the emigration of large numbers of the labouring population of this island to British Guiana; and believing as they do, that it is neither to the true interest of the people themselves nor of the country, that this emigration should continue, they cannot but deplore the existence of those causes which have led to it.

2.—That this committee have read with much alarm and sorrow, the third clause of an act which has just passed the legislature for checking this emigration, in words and effect, as follows:—

"Clause 3rd.—Be it therefore enacted, that from and after the passing of this Act, it shall not be lawful for any person, unless under the sanction of her Majesty's government, to act as an emigration agent in this island without such sanction, and every person counselling, aiding and abetting any such offender, and every person who shall contract with, entice, persuade, or endeavour to seduce any labourer, or artificer to go out of this island to any other colony or place, shall, on conviction thereof before any police magistrate of this island, forfeit, and pay a sum not exceeding fifty pounds, nor less than ten pounds, for every labourer or artificer so contracted with, enticed, persuaded, or attempted so to be, and in default of payment, shall be committed to the common gaol of this island, there to remain without bail, or mainprize, for the space of three calendar months, unless the forfeiture so incurred shall be sooner paid, one half of which forfeiture shall go to the informer, and the other half be paid into the public treasury of this island, for the public uses thereof; and if any person so convicted shall, after such conviction, be guilty of any such offence and be thereof convicted before any such police magistrate, every such offender shall be imprisoned in the common gaol of this island, with or without hard labour, for the space of six calendar months."

3.—That this committee consider it a duty which they owe to themselves, to their labouring brethren, and to the country, unequivocally to deprecate and condemn this enactment, as encroaching unnecessarily and oppressively on the undoubted right of the people to receive counsel and advice from any persons whom they may choose to consult, or confer with, as to the disposal of themselves and their services by emigration or otherwise; and also on the right of every such person to give such counsel and advice, without incurring legal penalties.

4.—That such an enactment is, in the opinion of the committee, eminently calculated to cherish and increase the excitement existing in the public mind at present, and to strengthen the hands of emigration agents, by enlisting on their side the sympathies and influence of the friends of the labouring population, and the advocates of human rights.

5.—That these resolutions be published in the newspapers of this island, and in the (London) Anti-slavery Reporter.

On behalf of the committee,

EDMUND C. HAYNES, Chairman.

PERSECUTION IN JAMAICA.

THE attention of the Friends of Religion, Justice, and Freedom, is earnestly solicited to certain iniquitous proceedings which have recently taken place in Jamaica, which, if not promptly and vigorously met, threaten not only the ruin of those against whom they have been directed, but the destruction of that liberty which has been purchased for the Negro at so costly a sacrifice.

At the Assizes for the county of Cornwall, held at Montego Bay in July last, various actions were brought, under different pretexts, against several well-known friends of the labouring classes in that Island. Amongst the victims of these proceedings were a Clergyman of the Church of England, a Missionary belonging to the Baptist Society, and some of the magistrates specially appointed for the protection of the emancipated population, in each of which cases the jurors decided against the party accused, and in most of them with enormous damages, under circumstances which can leave no doubt that the design is to ruin those whose hatred of oppression has rendered them obnoxious to the enemies of freedom.

At the same Assizes, a criminal information, filed by order of the Court against the Editor of a local newspaper for grossly defaming a Baptist minister, was tried, and the jury, without the formality of retiring to consider their verdict, immediately acquitted the defendant, contrary to the express direction of the Chief Justice, and the plaintiff was left with his injuries unredressed, and a heavy amount of legal expenses to pay.

These violent and reckless proceedings appear to have produced a greater excitement than has been known in the island since the insurrection in 1832.

The Negroes behave with admirable moderation, but they feel most deeply at the prospect of their best friends and protectors, of whom it was once sought to deprive them by brute force, now falling victims to the more specious, but not less effectual weapons of oppression, in the form of legal proceedings.

The juries on these occasions were almost wholly composed of persons belonging to a class who have uniformly and bitterly opposed the abolition of slavery, and the friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, and there is no hope whatever of obtaining justice for the parties against whom these verdicts have been given, but by an appeal to the Court of Error in the Island, and, if requisite, to the ultimate tribunal in this country, which will involve heavy legal expenses in addition to those already incurred.

To meet these expenses, an earnest appeal is now made to the liberality of the British public.

The following gentlemen have been appointed a Committee, with power to add to their number, to lay the particulars of these atrocious proceedings fully before the public, to promote subscriptions for the purposes contemplated, and for similar cases of oppression, and to superintend the appropriation of the funds collected.

COMMITTEE.

SAMUEL GURNEY, Esq. Treasurer.

Charles Lushington, Esq. M.P.
T. F. Buxton, Esq.
William Allen, Esq.
Rev. John Dyer.
George Stacey, Esq.
G. W. Alexander, Esq.
Rev. I. J. Freeman.
Robert Forster, Esq.
W. B. Gurney, Esq.
Joseph Cooper, Esq.
John Scoble, Esq.
Jacob Post, Esq.
Rev. J. Woodwark.
Thomas Clarkson, Esq. Playford Hall, near Ipswich.
Joseph Sturge, Esq. Birmingham
J. T. Price, Esq. Neath.
James Whitehorne, Esq. Bristol.

Rev. Thomas Scales, Leeds.
William Chapman, Esq. Newcastle-upon-Tyne.
Isaac Bass, Brighton.
J. B. Pease, Esq. Darlington.
R. D. Alexander, Esq. Ipswich.
Wm. D. Crewdson, Esq. Kendal.
W. T. Blair, Esq. Bath.
Wm. Wilson, Esq. Nottingham.
John Cropper, Esq. Liverpool.
Rev. John Birt, Manchester.
G. H. Head, Esq. Carlisle.
Joseph Eaton, Esq. Bristol.
Richard Rathbone, Esq. Liverpool.
J. Marriage, jun. Esq. Chelmsford.
Henry Sparkes, Esq. Exeter.
Jon. Backhouse, Esq. Darlington.

Amount already advertised	£ 1466	19	6
Robert Benson, Esq., Liverpool	25	0	0
Mary Greenwood, Chelmsford	5	0	0
Susanna Greenwood, ditto	5	0	0
Wells and Perry ditto	5	0	0
W. and T. Johns, ditto	2	0	0
Elizabeth Greenwood, ditto	2	0	0
Joseph Marriage, Jun. ditto	1	0	0
Robert Sanderson, Glasgow	1	1	0
John Barr, ditto	1	0	0
W. P. Paton, ditto	1	0	0
Donald Macintyre, ditto	0	10	0
George Watson, ditto	0	10	6
H. Brown, Jun., ditto	0	10	6
D. and J. Anderson, ditto	0	10	6
Robert Kettle, ditto	0	10	6
James Anderson, ditto	0	10	6
J. and C. Risk, ditto	0	10	6
Samuel Wilson, ditto	0	10	6
Anthony McKeand, ditto	0	10	6
James Watson, ditto	0	10	6
John Fleming, ditto	0	10	6
Semple and Co., ditto	0	10	6
Finlay and Neilson, ditto	0	10	6
Robert Laing, ditto	0	10	6
William Smeal, ditto	0	5	0
George McKinlay, ditto	0	5	0
Thomas Birlan, ditto	0	5	0
Archibald Brown, ditto	0	5	0
William Ferguson, ditto	0	5	0
M. Smith, ditto	0	5	0
John Fyfe, ditto	0	5	0
William Chisholm, Jun., ditto	0	5	0
John McLeod, ditto	0	5	0
Andrew Howie, ditto	0	5	0
A. McKirkland, ditto	0	5	0
H. T. Brown and Co., ditto	0	5	0
Thomas Binnie, ditto	0	2	6
A Friend, ditto	0	2	6
D. Boyd, ditto	0	2	6
John Edwards, ditto	0	2	0
James Standfield, Esq., Belfast	1	0	0
William Naish, Esq., Bristol	1	1	0
Richard Fry, Esq., ditto	2	0	0
J. P. Sturge, Esq., ditto	1	0	0
A Friend, per Rev. T. Scales	3	0	0

Subscriptions will be received at the following places:—

Samuel Gurney, Esq., Treasurer, Lombard-street.
Messrs. Herries, Farquhar, and Co. St. James's-street.
Messrs. Drewett and Fowler, Bankers, Princes-street, City.
Messrs. Hanburys, Taylor, and Lloyd, Bankers, Lombard-street.
Baptist Missionary Society's Office, Fen-court, Fenchurch-street
J. H. Tredgold, Esq., Secretary to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 27, New Broad Street, or by any of the Members of the Committee, and by

HENRY STERRY, Sec.
42, Trinity Square, Borough.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY MEETING of this Society was held in EXETER HALL, on WEDNESDAY, the 24th of June, 1840.

His Royal Highness the Duke of SUSSEX in the Chair.

The Report of the proceedings of the Committee for the past year having been read, and the Treasurer's Account presented, the following Resolutions were adopted:—

Moved by Thomas Clarkson, Esq.; seconded by Mons. Isambert; supported by the Rev. Thomas Scales:

1. "That the report now read, together with the Treasurer's Account, be approved and adopted by this Meeting, and printed under the direction of the Committee."

Moved by the Hon. J. G. Birnie, from the United States; seconded by the Right Hon. Dr. S. Lushington:—

2. "That this Meeting, in reviewing the proceedings of the society during the first year of its existence, feels called upon to acknowledge with gratitude in which it has been enabled to promote the purposes for which it was established, especially in awakening attention, both in this and other countries, to the dreadful enormities of slavery and the slave-trade."

Moved by D. O'Connell, Esq., M.P.; seconded by W. Allen, Esq.—

3. "That while this Meeting rejoices in the rapid progress of the cause of abolition in the free states of the United States of America, and deeply sympathises with those of our American brethren who are struggling in the maintenance of that cause against the inveterate prejudices and sordid interests of their fellow-citizens, it greatly deplores and indignantly reprobates the existence and extension of slavery in the southern parts of that great republic, by which a sixth portion of the whole population is degraded into the condition of chattels and brutes, and that an internal slave-trade, to an enormous extent, is carried on to supply the demand for human beings in the slave markets of that country, under circumstances as disgusting as they are barbarous, by all which the rights of humanity are trampled under foot, the sacred principles of justice and benevolence violated, and the holy claims of religion outraged and contemned. This meeting would therefore call on the American people, in the name of the Christian and civilized world, to renounce those great iniquities and the flagrant inconsistency of upholding them in direct opposition to the solemn recognised rights of humanity as set forth in their Declaration of Independence."

Moved by the Rev. W. Knibb; seconded by W. W. Anderson, Esq.:—

4. "That in the opinion of this Meeting the laws which have recently been passed in the islands of Jamaica and Barbados comprehend numerous enactments of an unrighteous and cruel character, productive at once of intolerable oppression to the emancipated classes, and of severe obstruction to agriculture, and put in imminent hazard both the welfare of the colonies and the successful results of the great Act of Emancipation, and that this Meeting, therefore, most respectfully and earnestly implore the Queen's Ministers to recommend to her Majesty in Council the immediate disallowance of those laws, and not to withdraw upon any consideration whatever the stipendiary magistracy, which is at present indispensable to the protection of the coloured labourers. That this Meeting derives great encouragement from the formation of numerous Auxiliaries not only in Great Britain, but also in the British West Indies, upon the principles of this Society, viz.:—"That so long as slavery exists there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings, that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character; and that no measures be resorted to by this society, in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles."

Moved by James Stanfield, Esq.; seconded by H. B. Stanton, Esq., from the United States:—

5. "That this meeting, contemplating the extent and importance of the objects of this society, would urge upon the friends of the enslaved of every clime the great necessity which exists, and which, in the recent sittings of the general convention, has been made still more apparent, for renewed and vastly-increased efforts to bring slavery itself and the slave-trade, which so necessarily depends upon it, to a perpetual end. That this meeting is greatly animated by the response which the friends of the cause, the abolitionists from other countries as well as from all parts of the United Kingdom, have made to the call of this society to the general convention which has just closed its highly interesting and important labours."

Moved by Dr. R. R. Madden; seconded by the Rev. Mr. Kennedy:—

6. "That the Treasurer, Secretary, Honorary and Corresponding members and the committee, be appointed for the ensuing year, subject to a provision, that any member of the committee not attending it six times between this annual meeting and that of next year, be not re-elected in 1841."

"That this meeting would strongly urge the formation of Auxiliary Societies where none are already in existence, and earnestly recommends to all auxiliaries to promote (Ladies') Associations within their respective districts."

Moved by H. Weymouth, Esq.; seconded by the Hon. Justice Jeremy.

"That the warmest and most respectful thanks of this meeting be given to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, for kindly accepting the chair, and for his readiness on this and all occasions to promote the advancement of the cause of humanity and freedom. And that the cordial thanks of this meeting be also given to Sir Eardley Wilmot, Bart., and W. Evans, M.P., for presiding at this meeting, subsequently to the retirement of his Royal Highness."

27, New Broad-street.

Printed by WILLIAM JOHNSTON, and RICHARD BARRETT, of 13, Mark Lane, in the Parish of All Hallows Staining, and City of London: and Published by LANCELOT WILD, of 13, Catherine Street, Strand, in the Parish of St. Mary-le-Strand, and City of Westminster, at 13, Catherine Street, Strand, aforesaid.—July 1st, 1840.